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# A Study of Selected Factors Which May be Associated with the Imminent Migration of Individuals from the Lower Brule Indian Reservation

Frank C. Estes

# A STUDY OF SELECTED FACTORS WHICH MAY BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE IMMINENT MIGRATION OF INDIVIDUALS FROM THE LOWER BRULE INDIAN RESERVATION

By

FRANK C. ESTES

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This thesis is approved as a creditable, independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Science, and acceptable as meeting the thesis requirements for this degree; but without implying that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

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Thesis Advisor

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Head of the Major Department

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This total endeavor certainly could not have progressed as far as it has without the gracious aid of all the foregoing people - and many others too numerous to mention; but they are, however, in no way responsible for any of its shortcomings.

f. c. e.

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"The Indian people - or any people - are a living plant. They must develop naturally, and, as they do, they drop off the lowest petals that have become dried up and useless and are hanging by a single fiber thread.

Only the plant knows when to drop them in its development of ever better and fuller bloom at the top."

Ella Deloria
SPEAKING OF INDIANS

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Pages of history are filled with the recording of man's movement from an area of lesser opportunity to one with a more favorable environment for security and happiness. And for a people with a background of recent, non-sedentary life, the Dakota too were lured (in one sense of the word anyway) toward "greener pastures" like countless ages of people have been. One might even say in an over-all gesture that the underlying epitome of a great many of man's migrations is vested in freedom, i.e., the desire to not only have the ability to move, but to practice it also. And seemingly natural, the urge to better oneself too has been present in all ages and among all peoples; and almost assuredly, it always will be.[1]

Invariably, however, the problem of a non-settled person in any community is oftentimes a perplexing one -- particularly with respect to bio-cultural differences. Though not a focused concern of this exposition, many benevolent agencies interested in social welfare are confronted with an indistinguishably dual problem of relieving need without prejudice and protecting their communities against exploitation. Consequently, the needy migrant (particularly the Indian) in American life may well find himself a virtual outcast, not only from his own

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[1]Philip E. Ryan, Migration and Social Welfare, p. 2, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1940.

parent group for forsaking his "gemeinschaft" affiliations,[2] but because the migrant is not yet a legally-qualified resident of the new community. In spite of the unforeseeable shortcomings which any migrant may encounter, however, migration has been an essential part of American life. It still is; and who knows, it may soon reach the height of inter-planetary level.

Migration is virtually impossible without human interaction.[3] When two or more people communicate and modify one another's behavior, social interaction is taking place. And since the writer presupposes that human interaction is indispensible to social change (which is directional in this case), migration is being considered as one of the mediums of social change. Consequently, all the effects of migration which involve contacts may be considered, as in some degree, products of interaction. And it is this product which makes migration in part -- though only in part[4] -- a sociological problem.

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[2]Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems, p. 784, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1951.

[3]Donald R. Taft, Human Migration, p. 178, The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1936.

[4]Taft, loc. cit.

## CHAPTER II

## CONSIDERATION OF MIGRATION DIFFERENTIALS

Migration, as a social phenomenon, receives one of the earliest explicit treatments by Thucydides.[5] Principally, he has made several statements concerning the history of Attica which are perhaps worth noting, that: (1) a stable, sedentary population is necessary for the accumulation of large amounts of capital; (2) the habit of moving from place to place may be acquired as a result of historical processes; (3) the richest territories are most subject to change of population; (4) civil disorders develop concomitantly with the increase of capital; (5) refugees frequently bring great advantages to the countries that receive them; and (6) the population may increase by slow accretion from without.[6]

Throughout the history of social science research, the mode of self-observation has repeatedly evolved through the dealings with ever new problems of social changes. Consequently, social science has attemptedly developed into a primarily empirical, quantitative and policy-related method of inquiry.[7] Subsequently, these three traits have grown together in continuing study of upcoming ways of life.

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[5] H. E. Barnes and H. Becker, Social Thought from Lore to Science, p. 167, D. C. Heath and Company, New York, 1938.

[6] Barnes, loc. cit.

[7] Daniel Lerner, The Human Meaning of the Social Sciences, p. 19, Meridan Books, Inc., New York, 1959.

In the social sciences then, particularly sociology, research tends to center upon certain fields when "problems" arise, "crises" develop, or other societal anomalies occur. There is an advantage in these occurrences in that they do bring to focus an immediate concern. A disadvantage, however, exists in the validation of many of these insights which is usually difficult, if not impossible, because the phenomena studied are "unusual."[8]

The contemporary concern with the phenomenon of internal migration in the United States is perhaps a case in point; not until benevolent or malevolent effects of internal migration became magnitudinal did the researchers converge. Consequently, American sociologists have not always been interested in internal migrations. They have, before this, however, been primarily interested in immigration, perhaps mainly because Uncle Sam was. Up to the middle of the last decade, immigration was a popular situation which exhibited both push and pull factors. Immigration showed the diverse cultural backgrounds represented, the personal and social characteristics of the incoming group, and their process of fusing with the dominant group. Only recently then, social scientists perhaps reflect a beginning interest in internal migration. Particularly attracting attention toward the phenomenon of internal migration was the depression period of 1929 - 1939.[9]

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[8]Dorothy S. Thomas, Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, Bulletin 43, 1, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1938.

[9]Walter D. Scott, The American Peoples Encyclopedia, Vol. 19, 318, Spencer Press, Inc., Chicago, Illinois, 1959.

In Germany and in other European countries, the realization of hypothetical ill effects of urbanization came to their attention long before the turn of the century.[10] Their studies encountered push and pull effects which the city and country areas had relative to each other. In addition, social scientists there have studied outlays of its population to newer countries.

In America, the interest in internal migration seemed to commence with the Negro population, particularly during the war period. Beginning in 1917, the stream of Negro migrants was swelled to an unheard-of proportion.[11] Subsequently, sociologists have afforded attention to this area only in the past few decades. To sum up the factors which induced interest in migration within these United States during the recent past, one could mention such things as war, fall of birth rates in some areas, droughts, industrial depression, etc. Thomas has also suggested that depression migrations have seemingly attracted the most attention; that it has also stimulated research into its incidence and classification.[12]

The Memorandum of Thomas was neatly organized into sections regarding selected migration differentials such as: age, sex, family status, physical health, mental health, intelligence, occupation, and motivation and assimilation. Consequently, from reviewing her studies,

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[10] Thomas, op. cit.

[11] Thomas, loc. cit.

[12] Thomas, op. cit., p. 134.

it can be generalized that the volume and direction of internal migration is a function of a number of variables, the variables also not being independently isolatable.[13]

Ryan,[14] in his presentation, says that "loss of employment is probably the greatest single force resulting in the movement of persons from one community to another." As can be determined from Ryan's discussion, the problem of the non-settled person in a new community would be a perplexing one. For the Indian migrant, it would be a problem for the social welfare administrators, the tribal council, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Each of these agencies can perhaps also defensively deny services to these types of people, consequently impressing the migrant of his newly acquired "marginality." The community's response to the migrant's needs is perhaps understandable; but it is inconsistent, however, with the attitudes prevailing when manpower is required for community growth and development.

Taeuber[15] mentions a basic generalization that losses in rural areas has been from farms; that during the 25 years between January 1, 1920 and January 1, 1945, there was an average net rural-urban migration of about 600,000 civilians per year.

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[13] Thomas, loc. cit.

[14] Ryan, op. cit., p. 13.

[15] Conrad Taeuber, "Recent Trends of Rural-Urban Migration in the United States," Postwar Problems of Migration, p. 124, Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, 1947.

Hauser and Eldridge,[16] in the same vein, have this to say:

> The volume and direction of internal migration and the growth of cities are a function of a number of variables -- none of which are subject to rigorous control. They are determined by such factors as long time trends in our economy and in economic opportunity; fluctuations in the business cycle; changes in political and social organization; changing modes, folkways, and attitudes; regional and urban-rural differentials in fertility and mortality; immigration; and, of course, trends in total population growth.

Somewhat similar to this writer's approach, Hauser and Eldridge stress the point that in the realm of human affairs, the safest and frequently the only way of foretelling the future lies in an analysis of the past. And like the writer, they analyze "historical patterns" by which urban centers grew with internal population movements.[17]

Regarding the writer's particular area, Hauser and Eldridge predicted that the rural-urban migration will continue. Other predictions included these: that the rate of urban growth will be dampened by the decline in the growth of the total population and the Nation; that regional differentials in urban growth will continue for some time, with more rapid development in the South and West than in the North; and that cities in the North will reach points of stability or even population decline in advance of cities in the South and West. The general assumption which seemed to underlie all these projections was that no sudden change would occur in the economic development, or in the social and political organization.

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[16] Philip M. Hauser and Hope T. Eldridge, "Projection and Urban Growth and Migration to Cities in the United States," Postwar Problems of Migration, p. 159, Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, 1947.

[17] Hauser, loc. cit.

Thompson[18] has a monograph concerning internal migration. It is one in a series of 13 sponsored by the Social Science Research Council. The Social Science Research Council sought to stimulate the study of the effects on various social institutions resulting from the depression period. This particular monograph (number four) briefly surveyed the ideas and facts related to depression migration and to indicate knowledge gaps. Particularly interesting to this writer were the social implications resulting from the development of the division of labor and the improvement in transportation and communication.[18] Through migration, social consequences resulting from differences in language, race, customs, standards of living, attitudes toward government, education, and many other cultural differences made a re-integration of community life difficult -- especially for an Indian migrant in this case.[19]

Lively and Taeuber also have some interesting views regarding internal migration. Their study was undertaken to provide a better understanding of the extent and nature of rural population movements and of the relation of these movements to such significant social and economic factors as: quality of land, economic status, population growth, depression, drought, unemployment, and the need for public work programs and relief.[20] Like this writer is attempting to do, they

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[18] Warren S. Thompson, Research Memorandum on Internal Migration in the Depression, p. 5, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1937.

[19] Ibid., p. 7.

[20] C. E. Lively, and Conrad Taeuber, Rural Migration in the United States, p. 133, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1939.

examined the association of selected factors with the defined phenomenon of internal migration. Mobility histories of about 22,000 families were secured from rural areas in Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, and South Dakota.

The two foregoing authors seemed to be reserved about stating whether migration serves as a general panacea for the problems of rural areas. They would seem to favor a sort of guided migration, in combination with reduced birth rates and improvement of general socio-economic conditions of a widespread rural destitution.[21]

At the other end of the migration phenomenon (destination), Hawley says that the growth of the metropolitan population has been one of the most conspicuous features of population movement in the United States during the first half of the 20th Century:[22]

> . . . in contrast to the 40% of the total population which was classified as urban in 1900, the 168 metropolitan areas in 1950 contained 56% of the nation's population, or about 86 million people.

In this same line, the urban center of Rapid City, South Dakota has experienced the hosting of about 4,000 Indian migrants.[23] Artichoker's bulletin suggests a number of reasons why so many Indian people have migrated to Rapid City. Among these are: employment,

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[21] Lively, loc. cit.

[22] Amos H. Hawley, The Changing Shape of Metropolitan America, p. 1, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955.

[23] John Artichoker, Jr., Indians of South Dakota, Bulletin 67-A, 48, South Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Pierre, South Dakota, 1956.

proximity to relatives at the Sioux Sanatorium, adventure, and an attraction toward the life of other people who had preceded them.

The writer has also reviewed the interesting manuscript prepared by Frank Lovrich, and though the text did not concentrate on any specific factors associated with migrating Indians, the contribution gained from the script was valuable. His thesis covered the later stage of social interaction, assimilation.[24] Regarding his brief mention of migration, Lovrich seemed to believe that high wages, steady work, and the demand for labor brought Indian people to Rapid City.

Another notable and larger volume was that prepared by Lewis Meriam and staff. Of the eight sections contained in the book, the sixth one (Migrated Indians) was of particular interest to this writer.[25] This section seemed to very aptly deal with the seemingly still-existing, socio-economic difficulties which the Indian migrant encounters. The epitome of the sectional presentation seemed to warrant national attention[26] as one of Meriam's recorded Indian quotes seemed to reiterate:[27] "No way to make a living on the reservation."

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[24]Frank Lovrich, The Assimilation of the Indian in Rapid City: a thesis, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, 1952.

[25]Lewis Meriam and staff, The Problem of Indian Administration, pp. 667-742, The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland, 1928.

[26]Ibid., p. 668.

[27]Ibid., p. 736.

# CHAPTER III

## THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The writer has observed and also taken part in the impressive phenomenon of human migration from his own reservation. Of great essence in the memory of the writer is the movement away of many of his close friends. This sentiment-stirring phenomenon becomes unfaded due to the fact that the writer himself is a migrant is also perhaps a quasi-in vivo observer. Another way to state this would be to say that he was taking part in Weber's operation verstehen.[28] Repeated accounts of someone having left nearly always containing the phrase wana iglaka iyaye (meaning in Dakota "moved for good now") also remains a part of memory.

Consequently, the general problem of this thesis was to study some of the factors associated with the migration of Indian individuals from the reservation setting. Particularly though, the problem was to study the selected factors which might be associated with the migration of Indian individuals from the reservation setting and to compare them with those of the non-migrants in hopes of clarifying some of the conditions leading to migration.

Subsuming the statement of Selltiz and associates[29] that theories provide an important guide for the direction of empirical research by

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[28] Nicholas S. Timasheff, Sociological Theory, p. 174, Doubleday and Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1955.

[29] Claire Selltiz and associates, Research Methods in Social Relations, p. 492, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1960.

pointing to areas which are likely to be fruitful, the writer then sought to employ a concept of Homans under which to operate. Homans classified two types of social change:[30] social disintegration and social conflict. The first type was chosen as relevant in this case. Recognizing that the individual and his society are never independent of one another, Homans utilized Durkheim's concept of anomie[31] for making a statement of social disintegration:[32]

> . . . it was marked by the small number of activities in which individuals collaborate, by the low degree of contact between individuals, and by a lack of control by the group over its members.

Finally, Homans knitted together the concept under which the writer was intending to operate in his study. Combined with the "lack of control," the subgroup (the Indian people of this study) also come into contact with the larger society of which it is a part. Therefore, the writer set up a hypothesis which would permit "fruitful results," particularly lending attention to the factors which play a part for the Indian group in question as it comes into contact with the larger society. The hypothesis is: there are significant differences existing between the non-migrant and the while-leaving migrant. Sub-hypotheses concerning the selected differentials are those regarding: (1) amount of education, (2) sex status, (3) amount of Indian blood, (4) number of

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[30]George C. Homans, The Human Group, p. 336, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, New York, 1950.

[31]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, p. 161, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957.

[32]Homans, op. cit., p. 337.

children, (5) veteran status, (6) amount of land, (7) job qualification, (8) amount of on-reservation kinship ties, (9) amount of off-reservation kinship ties, and (10) choice of spouse. These specific sub-hypotheses shall be presented under the section Examination of Variables.

## Reasons for the Study

There are several conditions which would seem to indicate the perpetuation of the Indian reservation. Outstanding ones are: (1) the paternalistic nature of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, (2) the apparent need of the Indian people for governmental services as such, and (3) the necessity of a differing social group as the Lower Brule Indian people to have an area in which to practice its patterns of life.

However, because of the dynamic forces of human interaction from outside the reservation (concomitant with secondary chances of socio-geographic isolation) operating on a once, self-sustaining social system, the very existence of the reservation appears shortened by time owing to an inundating and dominant white society.

It is therefore assumed that general social and economic forces will continually operate to impel migration of Indian individuals from the reservation setting to peripheral areas. Consequently, the Indian Service can perhaps profit by becoming cognizant of the associative factors of migration for these two main reasons: (1) such evidential data should help to furnish the basis for modification and development of better governmental policies and (2) these new policies can better be made to also serve the migrated Indian in his adjustment and establishment in a different social environment.

The Lower Brule Sioux Tribal Council, planning an important effort to relocate and re-establish its community as a consequence of flooding by the Big Bend Dam project, may, along with other closely concerned agencies, profit through the indications derived from this study.

From the view of the guest community, several outstanding difficulties may arise as determinants of "Indian problems." For one thing, there are considerable numbers of Indians who are moving off the reservations, and because it is consensually believed that the Indian is of a lower level of socio-economic status, there appears to be a general attitude of off-reservation superiority. In addition, the Indian population in question is attracted toward industrial centers where the change in social environment is oftentimes crucial.

Finally, it seems apropos to reiterate John Collier's seventh principle regarding his service to Indian people:[33] ". . . that research and then more research is essential to the program, that in the ethnic field, research can be made a tool of action essential to all other tools, indeed, that it ought to be the master tool."

## Area and Period of Time Considered

The area being considered in this study is that territory which is described by the United State Department of Interior as the Lower

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[33]John Collier, Indians of the Americas, p. 156, The New American Library, New York, 1948.

Brule Sioux Indian Reservation. It lies in the central portion of South Dakota on the west bank of the Missouri River, and about 25 miles southeast of Pierre, South Dakota and 20 miles northwest of Chamberlain, South Dakota. (See Figure 1)

The period of time being considered dates from 1900 through 1960 because this is the period during which most of the respondents appeared to have left the reservation. This is shown by the migration trend polygon in Figure 2.

## Method of Data Collection and Composition of Samples

The nomenclature for migrants and non-migrants was obtained from the Lower Brule Indian Tribal office. The rolls kept by the people at this office only included the qualified. However, not all of the enrollees were included in each sample. Specifically, the writer utilized the two sets of voting lists of those living off the reservation and those living on the reservation. The people were both male and female individuals not less than 21 years of age.

The method of data collection was through mailed questionnaires and through the help of the tribal secretary-treasurer and tribal clerk. The first questionnaire for the off-reservation group (Appendix A) had an accompanying letter with personally signed signatures by the writer and his thesis advisor. Mention was made of the fact that they were already once approached (with a pre-test) with a similar questionnaire. The importance of the data which they would supply was spelled out in the letter, i.e., important for the tribe, for the Big Bend Dam

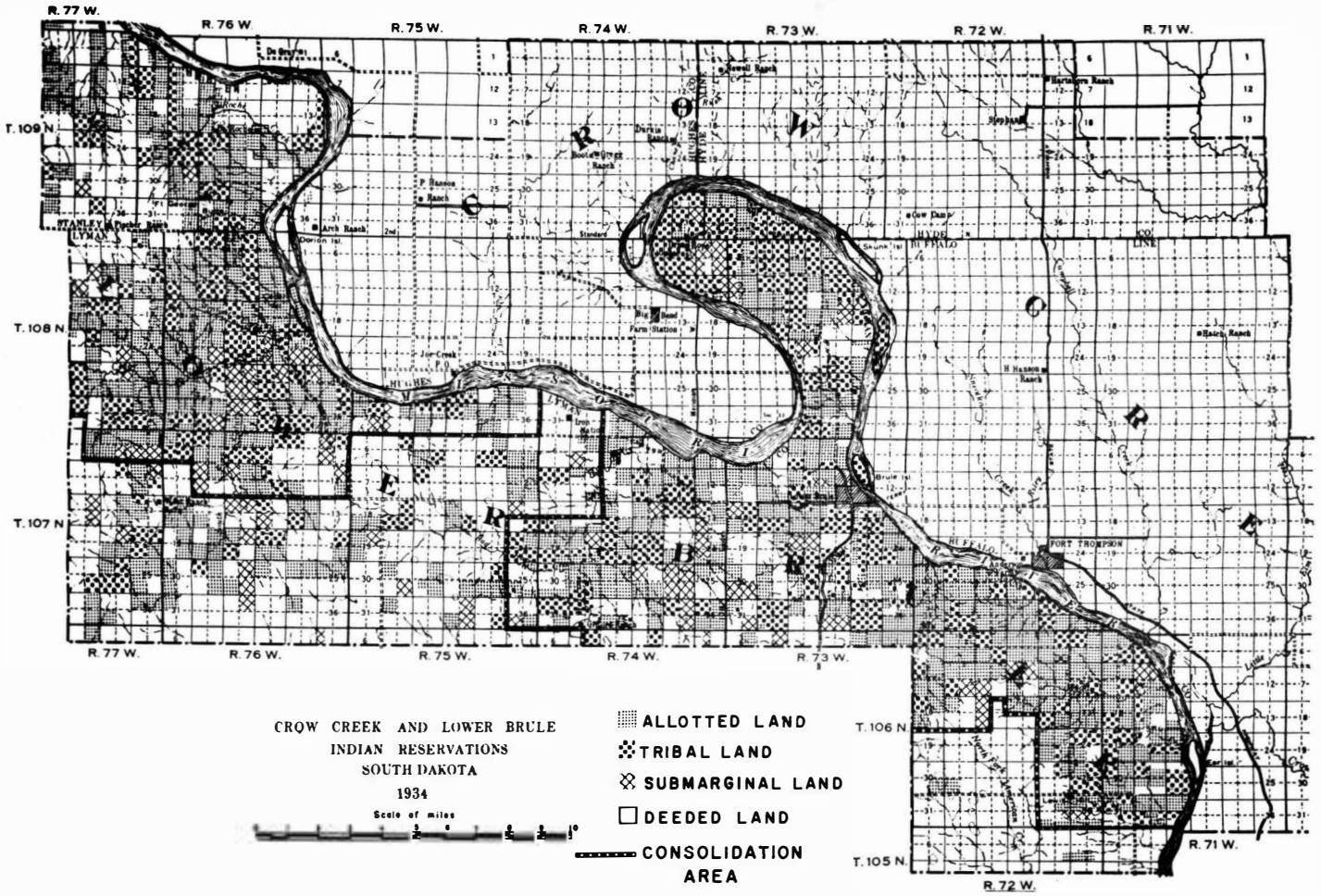


**Figure 1. Map of the Lower Brule Indian Reservation showing Proposed Area of Land Consolidation**

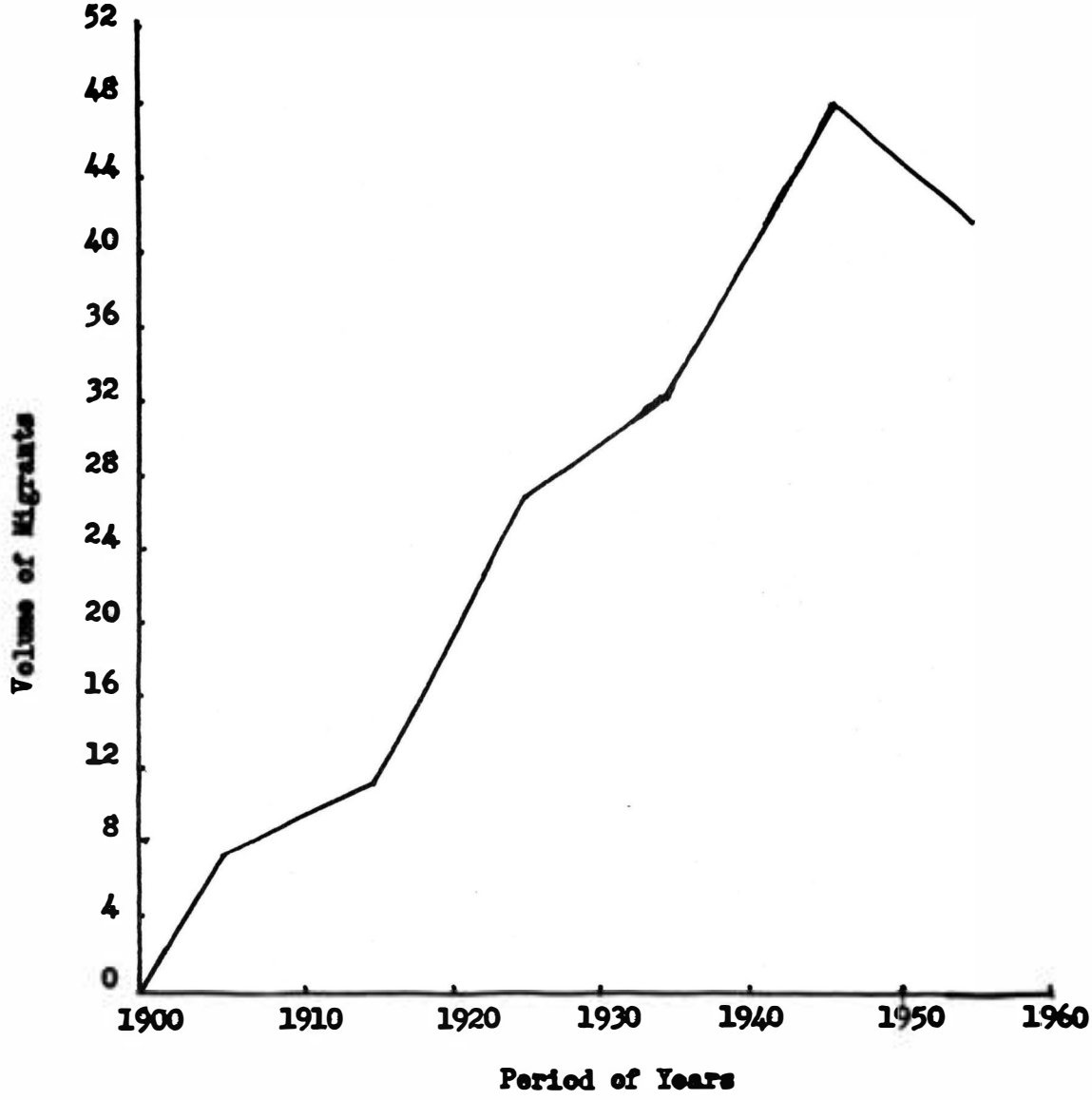


Figure 2. Frequency Polygon of Entire Migration Trend

program, and for knowledge in general. It was also stated that there was no need for their identification (in hopes of receiving more replies) -- unless they themselves desired to identify themselves. A self-addressed and stamped envelope was enclosed for them.

The second follow-up questionnaire had a modification (Appendix B) in hopes of removing a possible barrier of confusion for those who were not familiar with (or dreaded) fractions. Since most of the Indian people deal in fourths, the questions referring to blood (numbers six and nine) were left open; question 11, referring to years of education was also left open. The second mailing, it was hoped, would permit those not accustomed to numbers to reply. It is doubtful, however, whether these questions really made that much difference because a noticeable increase in the returns was not observed -- though this is not a conclusive speculation.

The third follow-up (with the same form used in the second) only included those people whose addresses were definitely established. However, the writer wrote a personal note on the tribal report which he sent along (the writer being the tribal council vice-chairman) to those whom he knew.

The writer's method of determining who to send a follow-up questionnaire to was accomplished by deducing from the information, which they supplied, their age, children, kinship ties, and town. And since most individuals were not without relatives on or off the reservation whom the writer knew, it was possible to identify them. Only about three individuals remain unidentified.

The acquired mailing list was composed of 306 enrollees. However, of this group, 10 were immediately disqualified because they never lived on the reserve. Then of the remaining 296 migrants, 62 were not capable of being located due to incomplete or out-of-date addresses. The final working group was then composed of 234 people. And of this group, 170 (or 73%) of them returned their questionnaires.

It is evident that the answers solicited were not of an attitudinal nature, but were essentially of recall facts -- facts which applied to the migrants at the time of their leaving -- and not information which was controversial in any way. The information obtained for the non-migrants was relative to their present status. This was compiled by the tribal secretary-treasurer and clerk. The non-migrant sample was composed of 144 (or 88%) of the 164 qualified people. A questionnaire for them is contained in Appendix C.

## Operational Definitions

The term "migration" shall be defined as a voluntary, physical movement of Indian individuals, regardless of age, from the reservation setting (including the seven relocatees who replied). However, the term "migrant" shall be defined as any Lower Brule Indian individual who is not less than 21 years of age and has remained off the reservation for not less than one year.

The Edwards Classification System referred to by Thomas[34] shall be used to define "occupation."

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[34] Thomas, op. cit., p. 87.

The method used by the Department of Interior to classify the Indian individuals by amount of Indian blood in terms of fractions shall be used to define "Indian blood."

For this paper, "social change" shall be defined as the transmigration of the patterns of interaction, sentiment, and activity in a social system.[35] A "social system" shall be defined as when individuals form a complex of interactions and activities with each other more than with others, thus engendering an internal set of sentiments.[36] Likewise, "interaction" shall be defined as one individual's mental activity being stimulated by another's; "sentiment" shall be defined as the social attitudes and social values which an individual possesses; and "activity" shall be defined as physical movements by an individual.[37]

Concordant with the foregoing definitions, an "attitude" shall be defined as mentally, predisposition to preceive, feel, perform, and think toward some thing in relation to it -- most usually directed at social values.[38] And "social values" shall be defined as mentally, predisposed price tags of artifacts or mentifacts -- usually the objects of social attitudes.[39]

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[35] The writer's own definition involving Homans' conceptual scheme.

[36] Homans, op. cit., p. 87.

[37] Ibid., pp. 34, 37, and 38.

[38] Theodore H. Newcomb, Social Psychology, pp. 118-119, The Dryden Press, New York, 1950. This definition is somewhat modified by the writer.

[39] This is the writer's own definition.

Finally, and "internal system" shall be defined as a social system wherein sentiments are engendered; and an "external system" shall be regarded as conditioned by the environment and making up the total social system.[40] The external system is to be thought of as group behavior which enables the group to survive in its environment. The internal system, then, is to be thought of as group behavior which engenders sentiments as a result of the individual member's lives together.

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[40] Homans, op. cit., p. 110.

# CHAPTER IV

## CONCEPTUAL SCHEME

Man, as an animal, is both mobile and social. Consequently, the conceptual framework under which this circumscribed study of migration is claiming aegis is that of social change. And by choice, the functional concept of a social system -- and its paradigmatic elements -- will be based upon the discussion by George C. Homans:[41]

> In sociology, we tend to wander all over our material; we never quite know what we are talking about at any particular moment. The reason is not that we are incompetent, but that we have no device for fixing our attention.
>
> A classification of this particular kind (the concepts sentiment, activity, and interaction) may help us to extensionalize, that is, to go behind the big words and phrases so common in this field to the actual observations to which they refer. We do not want to get rid of the big words but to give them underpinnings, to show their relation, through concepts of a lower degree of abstraction, to the things we see and hear in human behavior. Interaction, sentiment, and activity are such low-order concepts.

The writer considers interaction as the cardinal element in Homans' conceptual scheme. Regarding social change, it is considered indispensible. Consequently, the writer sought the employment of this conceptual element to complement the measurement of social change through migration. Translating this element of interaction into a working bypothesis which could be empirically tested, the writer set up the following postulation that: the while-leaving migrants have

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[41] Ibid., pp. 44-45.

certain characteristics about them which are not only significantly different from the non-migrants, but that these characteristics also take part in leading them to socially interact with the off-reservation people. This phenomenon, it was contended, was social change in action. The sub-hypothesis will posit specific, significant differences between the while-leaving migrants and non-migrants relative to the selected variables of: (1) amount of education, (2) sex status, (3) amount of Indian blood, (4) number of children, (5) veteran status, (6) amount of land, (7) job qualification, (8) amount of on-reservation kinship ties, (9) amount of off-reservation kinship ties, and (10) choice of spouse. Accordingly then, implied in this particular choice of selected variables will be the underlying assumption that these independent factors will take part in social change through the medium of migration.

Lending support to the writer's use of one of the elements of the conceptual scheme, Davis[42] says that "certainly there is a close connection between social interaction and social change; for it is mainly through interaction that change comes about."

Washburne,[43] an author deeply interested in the theoretical problem of the relation between social structure and social change,

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[42]Kingsley Davis, Human Society, p. 623, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949.

[43]Norman F. Washburne, Interpreting Social Change in America, p. 18, Random House, New York, 1954.

says that "in order to understand social change, how institutions become modified, it is necessary to review our understanding of the mechanisms of human interaction."

What is actually being done here (by the writer) is hybridizing sociology and demography. Social interaction is one thing; migration is another. But human interaction is almost invariably akin to migration -- whether it be for a short or long distance, or for white people or for Indian people. Consequently, migration seemingly offers a very favorable ground for combining sociology and demography. In the past, much of American sociology was built upon the problems created by massive immigration.[44] Now, internal migration, statistically more manageable and more emotionally neutral, has gained attention compared to international migration.

When an Indian leaves his reservation community, in search of a differently defined security and happiness, in reality, he is going out to meet acculturation.[45] A continuum is thus set up for the final interaction stage of assimilation.[46] Before the Indian people in general were even granted citizenship (1924)[47] in America, certainly

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[44] Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Sociology Today, p. 314, Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1959.

[45] Felix M. Keesing, Cultural Anthropology, p. 387, Rinehardt & Company, Inc., New York, 1959.

[46] John F. Cuber, Sociology, p. 609, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1955.

[47] Edward C. McDonagh and Eugene S. Richards, Ethnic Relations in the United States, p. 210, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1953.

they must have been migrating from their respective reservations like the Lower Brule Indian people were. The migration trend for Lower Brule, as shown in Figure 2, started in 1900.

Any migrant is assuredly pushed and pulled by his parent group, and simultaneously pushed and pulled by the frontier settlement. Concomitant with the reverberating socio-economic forces is the means of travel; it is almost as though without the means of travel, as they are today, migration would be seriously impaired. Ogburn[48] epitomizes the cause of migration in terms of "push, pull, and transportation."

Means of travel has had notable effects on the people of the United States. Nordskog[49] mentions the generality that the redistribution of the American rural population reflects the influences of the flight from rural areas. And though most demographers are not harmonius in their regard of the immediate changes of population trends, they do agree that from July 1, 1956 to July 1, 1975 the population will increase from 167 million to 227 million.[50] To imagine the Indian population effectively withstanding this mass movement of rural peoples from diverse areas to urban areas is perhaps presumptuous. According to the theory of social interaction which Homans propounds, they must "invariably" be, to some extent anyway, caught in this web of movement.

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[48] William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, Sociology, p. 378, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, Mass., 1958.

[49] John Eric Nordskog, Social Change, p. 47, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1960.

[50] Ibid.

Heeding the rule "as few as you may; as many as you must" which Homans has concerning "the number of things you are talking about,"[51] the writer will attempt a similar analogy by hoping to make, in this thesis, the important quantitative, and not the quantitative important.

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[51]Homans, op. cit., p. 16.

# CHAPTER V

## SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS OF MIGRATION

Man's wandering from habitat to habitat has greatly influenced his material and non-material culture. Spokesmen who philosophically view human life are also disposed to the panorama of historic influence upon the pattern of life of any living organisms. For instance, one of the well-remembered men whose official classification of the microscopic domain was ground-setting was Carl Linnaeus.[52] Though this man did not make his contribution in the social sciences directly, it is interesting to note how he divided the human species into four groups:[53]

> americanus (American Indian) -- Tenacious, contented, free; ruled by custom
> europaeus -- Light, lively, inventive; ruled by rights
> asiaticus -- Stern, haughty, stingy; ruled by opinion
> afer (African) -- Cunning, slow, negligent; ruled by caprice

And in many respects, this man can also be given credit for being one of the earlier men who first practiced what he viewed in life as evolution, though Darwin was attributed with being the Father of the Evolutionary Theory.[54]

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[52]Bernard Jaffe, Men of Science in America, p. 125, Simon and Schuster, Inc., New York, 1958.

[53]L. C. Dunn and Th. Dobzhansky, Heredity, Race, and Society, p. 109, The New American Library, New York, 1960.

[54]Dagobart D. Runes, Ed., Treasury of Philosophy, p. 301, The Philosophical Library, Inc., New York, 1955.

In pre-agricultural times, for the most part migrations were by groups, and the movement from one place to another did not bring about wholesale disruption of social relationships. Migration seems to be toward urban areas now days. Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin came to an identical conclusion that (1) most migrations to the cities take place during early adulthood, which includes persons in the years of their greatest physical activity, (2) that females migrate at somewhat younger ages than males, (3) that migration occurs at the time non-migrants are establishing homes for themselves, and (4) that it can be set down as one of the most thoroughly established principles in sociology that cityward migration selects persons just on the threshold of adulthood.[55]

Teggert and Reuter[56] emphasize the importance of man's wanderings (migration) as being fundamental factors in the advancement of civilization. Other men also believe that permanence and fixity are a consequence of the absence of contacts between people of different cultures. Turgot[57] defends migration as a way of life by saying that man is "emancipated" from any slowly evolving fixity in social institutions; and that this unconscious tyranny of tradition and custom is characteristic of an isolated people. In a similar disposition,

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[55] T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life, p. 178, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1940.

[56] Alfred McClung Lee, Principles of Sociology, p. 102, Barnes and Noble, Inc., New York, 1955.

[57] Turgot, loc. cit.

Reuter[58] lends support to Turgot by saying that "an isolated, immobile people tends to develop a homogenous culture."

Attempting to philosophically view the phenomenon of migration, one would first have to admit that the causes and effects of human migration are difficult to fully embrace. The causes and effects have really never been fully understood.[59] Many people regard the external and internal causes of migration to be very closely related; this can also be said for the effects of migration. Consequently, to attempt to separate, say, the internal causes from the external, or the cause from the effect even, would present a situation analogous to Heisenberg's famous Principle of Indeterminacy.[60] For instance, the separation of the two causes of migration (conditions and motives) is perhaps like Reichenbach's mention of someone trying to examine an electron away from its orbit. Reichenbach reminds us that when they are merely observed they are disturbed; therefore, one knows not what they did before and after their observation.[61] In other words, some socio-economic forces "pull" while others "push", whether they be at the migration origin or destination. And to efficiently deal with

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[58] Reuter, loc. cit.

[59] Davis, op. cit., p. 586.

[60] Hans Reichenbach, The Rise of Scientific Philosophy, p. 163, University of California Press, Los Angeles, California, 1958.

[61] Ibid., p. 182.

causes alone will not yeild adequate results; both cause and effect have to be taken into account for synoptical understanding, and this is a great undertaking.

Davis[62] considers the two general causes of migration (conditions and motives) and he states they relate to different peoples and different places in complicated ways. It then seems that the factors of measurement are so complicated and variable that there is perhaps a justifiable lack of a systematic understanding of the phenomenon. As a result, social scientists can only attempt to explain migration in terms of particular cases.

Historically, the peopling of Asia, Africa, the Americas, and Europe (where one wave of people followed another) was referred to as the Classical migrations. This classical migration involved the movement of people into a totally new area. And to use the term employed by some writers, the Jewish migrations during ancient times were called the Great Diaspora, the almost universal dispersion;[63] and it is in this type of "diaspora" that the races and peoples whose racial characteristics and tribal cultures (formed in isolation) have finally come together. It is out of this conjugation that civilization has risen. Essentially similar to primitive migrations, this type was of mass shiftings of whole tribes from one area to another. And more than not, they were motivated by a search for food or

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[62] Davis, op. cit.

[63] Lee, op. cit., p. 105.

plunder.[64] This was the form of migration which is characteristic of what E. T. Mason has called "the age of dispersion."[65]

The migrations of Mediaeval periods is said to have been that of classes of people and not necessarily that of masses.[66] The type of people involved were merchants, middlemen and journeymen, wandering knights, jugglers and minstrels, gypsies, and itinerants of all kinds -- every man in fact who was footloose and free. This type of migration did not basically represent pioneering people who desired to extend the area of permanent living, but it represented people in search of adventure and profit.

Modern migrations seem to have assumed the form of individual and family movements.[67] This type of migrant is usually an industrial or agricultural worker, who from necessity has to seek his fortune among strangers. Some refer to this type as proletarian.

In scope, modern migrations are: (1) intercontinental, (2) intracontinental, or (3) intranational. General compulsives discernible in migrations, both primitive and modern, continue to operate universally. Usually the two broad causes are grouped under (1) changes in the physical environment, and (2) changes of a social nature. The first represents the conditions; the second motives.

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[64] Ibid.

[65] E. T. Mason, "Migration and the Food Quest, A Study in the Peopling of America," Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute, pp. 523-539, July, 1894, Washington, D. C.

[66] Lee, op. cit.

[67] Ibid.

Concerning one aspect of modern migrations, records reveal cases of many foreign immigrants nursing irrational fears and hopes.[68] But immigrants are not alone in this predicament; though the types of hopes and fears may be different, American Indians and other people from lower developed areas share this predicament. In a small study concerning the Relocation program developed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the Indian population, the intensity of these "fears and hopes" seemed similarly equal.[69] The main difference was perhaps in the ability of the Indian people, in this case, to return to the reservation setting when conditions became unsatisfactory. In this study, the writer epitomized the greatest obstacle which the Indian people met through being relocated was a confrontation with a "Paper World." Opposite a gemeinschaft-like life from which the relocatees came, they were suddenly set into a social environment which was basically impersonal. This type of environment was impersonal to the extent that the interactions, sentiments, and activities were "insulated by paper transactions." Take away the item of paper and the great complex, social superstructure would perhaps lose its existence. True social systems of all sizes would no more be able to elude the intimate functions of the conceptual scheme.

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[68] Davis, loc. cit.

[69] This writer assisted Dr. Vernon D. Malan in research on a brief evaluation of the Relocation Program. An unpublished paper was prepared entitled: "Relocation -- An Experiment in Applied Social Work," 1958.

Indian people, particularly those with, say, more Indian blood, less education, less job qualifications, and more kinship ties on the reservation, have less chance to take part in social interaction away from the reservation setting than the contrary types of people. Consequently, a person lacking the attributes leading him to take part in social interaction finds the new social environment crucial -- particularly because the "world" of the white man is based on social interaction which "flow through paper transactions." Now some social scientists compare foreign immigrants with Indian people regarding the ability to adjust to the general American way of life; and this seems unfair. The foreign immigrants are usually from the same stream of migration from whence the majority (if not all) of the white people of America came. The general life of the American Indians, on the other hand, was not, and still is not, based upon paper transactions like the life of the white conquistadors.

To America immigration, more than emigration, is an important factor in population problems. It appears that immigration is inherently selective with regard to age, sex, and intelligence, and there is some evidence to support this claim. Approximately 75% of the total immigrant group coming were in the age group of 20 to 40. Regarding sex, males predominated -- particularly in the Atlantic area. And though not too much evidence exists on the basis of intelligence, earlier migrations showed a better score than the later ones.[70]

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[70] Paul H. Landis, Population Problems, p. 412, The American Book Company, New York, 1943.

It is generally accepted that immigration produced marked effects on American culture, that it even affected the bio-social nature of the American people in a number of ways. This view is acceptable only as the qualification is made that later migrants who came over were oftentimes descendants of the same forefathers of earlier migrants. Surely though, immigration did give impetus to such things as urbanization, vertical mobility, cultural change, reduced fertility, and other minor changes.[71]

Before going on to the next chapter which concerns the first coming of man to North America, perhaps the writer should briefly summarize the past few chapters. It was found that migration studies within the United States was primarily that of examining the effects of internal migration during such periods as the depression, war, and industrial development. It was the writer's desire, however, to investigate the factors which were neutrally associated with migration from the Lower Brule Indian Reservation -- paying no particular attention to war or depression periods. This effort was accepted as relating to the conceptual scheme of Homans, that the schematic element of social interaction was eminently involved in migration. And since it was accepted also that social change was virtually impossible without human interaction, social change was actually being measured. Finally, it was evident that the conceptual scheme was prevalent in a generalized, historical view of human migration. Consequently,

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[71] Ibid.

migration, or the movement of individuals or groups from one place to another, is of great social significance. Each time one new person meets with one other new person, a new social system is created. And to imagine the complexity of social systems evolving from more than a small amount of newly meeting individuals would be quite impressive. New sets of interaction, sentiment, and activity are the epitome of social change. This is where it all truly begins. Human migrations nurture this.

# CHAPTER VI

## GLANCING AT THE FIRST COMING OF MAN TO NORTH AMERICA

To begin discussing the peopling of this continent, one must first commence with the eventful period of the early men in North America. Many men have debated the question of how and when first man came to North America. At the onset of the debate, however, two things were taken for granted: (1) that there were early men living on this continent prior to 10,000 years before Columbus and (2) that these people did not come from Europe.[72] From normal observation of such factors as the existing people's complexion, hair, culture, and technology, investigators immediately could find no evidence to start with that these people could have derived from Europe. But these attributed did allow a starting indication that these people might have very well come from somewhere in Asia.[73]

The next plausible question then was just how these earlier people came to North America. Asia is separated from the Alaskan mainland by about 56 miles through the Bering Strait. This "gateway" early appeared to many demographers as the most likely route over which people would infiltrate this continent. However, as popular as the Alaskan theory might have been, shreds of lost evidence of man's

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[72] Edgar B. Howard, "Early Man in America," American Philosophical Society, Vol. 76, 327-333, The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1936.

[73] Ibid.

early presence existed in such middle areas of the continent as Yuma, Arizona and Folsom, New Mexico.[74] Yet there were no human relics along man's proposed route. In view of this apparent anomalie, a systematic attempt to trace man's early route was begun.

One might next ask, if these early Americans did come from Asia, what was their premise? Early civilization being in a stage it perhaps was at the time, one would not error by admitting they may have followed their food. Although it may seem fundamentally obvious that the reasons for migration to another continent today may be different from those periods, it must be kept in mind that man's innate needs (in this case, a search for more plentiful food supplies) have not changed considerably - if at all.[75] A more comprehensive and basic need of survival would include not only food, but things like freedom, flight, and space.

Solecki reports that paleontologists have discovered fossils of Bison, Musk Ox, Moose, Goat, Wooley Mammoth, Mastodon, and other animals which perhaps originated in Eurasia.[76] These fossil remains were said to be from 25,000 to 30,000 years old, and that in making the dating, some authors suggest that the area surrounding Alaska must have been a lush animal habitat.

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[74] Ralph Solecki, "How Man Came to North America," Scientific American, Vol. 184: 1, 11, Scientific American, Inc., New York, 1951.

[75] John Dewey, "Does Human Nature Change?", Philosophy of Science, p. 282, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1953.

[76] Solecki, op. cit., p. 12.

Many people were prone to say that it is impossible to conclusively answer the question of how animals and men came to North America. If the animals came approximately 25,000 years ago, then they must have come during the Pleistocene period.[77] And they admit that this period could have well permitted a dry-shod route which men and animals could have utilized as a bridge, and this is exactly what the fossils seem to show. At any rate, the Bering Strait is a rather shallow crossing; and at the period, with the glaciers with-holding much water (and water also receding), a sizeable amount of land must have been available for vertebrate crossing.

Another leading question could be why all life comes from over in Asia. The ultimate answer to this question is perhaps a matter of evolution; but relative to animals crossing, Simpson says that the bridge worked both ways as a selective factor relative to the migration of men and animals.[78] Horses and camels perhaps went to Asia in return for other animals and men, and evidence indicates also that men who were not predominantly nomadic hunters had no reason to follow the animals as they crossed the strait. And as ancient people moved from one place to another, they also must have come in groups large enough for existence. The evidence which most people consider formidable is summarized by Solecki:[79]

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[77] Mischa Titiev, The Science of Man, p. 279, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1955.

[78] Solecki, loc. cit.

[79] Ibid., p. 62.

> During the ice age, so much water was locked up in the glaciers that it left a broad, ice-free land bridge between Asia and America. Over this bridge came a migration of animals which thrived and expanded in its new feeding zones -- for a time at least. Much later, toward the waning of the glacial period about 20,000 years ago, came man, presumably attracted by abundant game. Like the animals, man rapidly expanded his range over America. The initial migration route over the interior of the continent was probably over the northern unglaciated part of Alaska and then down the Mackenzie Basin.

Palmer elaborates on the coming of man to North America by saying that the people came in waves, and not en masse.[80] And from many considerations, anthropologists believe that the American Indian has descended from the same ancestors of the reddish races of eastern Asia.[81] As a matter of fact, living remnants of the older yellow-brown stock of people from which the American Indians originated were found in some different parts of Asia by Ales Hrdlicka:[82]

> The newcomers, though all belonging to the same race, were evidently not strictly homogeneous; but represented several distinct sub-types of the yellow-brown people, with differences in culture and language.

Palmer suggests that if someone could possibly transport and transplant into America some of the people from the southern slopes of the Himilayas (Tibetan tribes), they would undoubtedly so closely resemble the American Indians that they would be called just that.[83]

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[80] Rose A. Palmer, "The North American Indians," Smithsonian Scientific Series, Vol. IV, 2, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1929.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid., p. 3.

[83] Ibid.

Hrdlicka stated that the "waves" of people who came over from Asia must have represented such groups as the dolichocephalic (narrow, long head) Indian: Algonquin, Iroquoian, Siouan, and Shoshonena stocks, further south the Pima-Aztec tribes, and in South America by other branches; next the brachycephalic (broad head) Indian: the Toltec type, which settled along the northwest coast, in the central and mound region, in the gulf states, the Antilles, Mexico, over Central America, Peru, and places else; and a later wave consisting of the Eskimos and Athapascan types.[84]

Investigators have even studied languages to learn about earlier Indian life on this continent. They have found that there were no less than 50 different linguistic families. And these vocabularies are supposed to be as distinct from each other as when the white men first came to America.[85]

One can well imagine that the discovery of this continent was a long-lasting and oftentimes startling one because of the new food sources and new areas which were encountered. And perhaps it was during this time that the Indian population increased according to the Malthusian principle.[86] Consequently, it must have been a matter of considerable time before the whole continent was occupied and

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[84] Ibid., p. 3.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Thomas Malthus, "A Summary View of the Principle of Population," On Population, p. 31, The New American Library, New York, 1960.

controlled by the paleo-Indians. Later waves of migration perhaps merely tended to diffuse new peoples and their cultures.

Raphael offers an interesting account of how the Rocky Mountains seemed to have divided successive migrations. At the time of discovery, United States contained some 2,000 tribes of Indians with a membership of about 1 million.[87] Relative to the diffusion of the Indian population, Raphael said that:[88]

> This splitting apart occurred for thousands of years until the whole continent was occupied. By 1492, the tribes had pretty much settled themselves geographically. . .

Thus, when white people first discovered and explored the continent, it may have seemed to them that the land was empty and poorly used, or not used at all. This geographic dispersion of wave after wave of Indians led them to make quite adequate use of the land and resources which they chanced upon, considering the tools and knowledge available to them. As a matter of fact, culture techniques developed by the Indians for their native plants were adopted by the Europeans.[89]

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[87] Ralph B. Raphael, The Book of American Indians, p. 12, Arco Publishing Company, Inc., New York, 1954.

[88] Ibid., p. 13.

[89] Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle, Indians and Other Americans, p. 24, Harper Brothers, New York, 1959.

# CHAPTER VII

## THE ARRIVING OF THE DAKOTA

When Europeans and Indians met for the first recorded time in the Western Hemisphere some 465 years ago, neither side was prepared for the event. When Columbus reached this continent, an estimated 900,000 to 1 million Indians were occupying it.[90] Fey and McNickle apologize for James Mooney's "educated guess" since it was impossible to contact the Indians all at one time - if even at all. The continent, however, was already fostering five well-defined economic areas[91] and a good two-thirds of the population lived in the Corn and Bison regions.

When the Dakota were first encountered by whites, they were not long-time residents of the Dakota Plains Area. They migrated to the Bison area from the Corn area. Apart from the missing history of the diffusion of peoples from the main stream of migration, the general Siouan family can be generally traced back to the eastern seaboard. Fletcher, LaFlesche, and Swanton represent a consensus:[92]

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[90] Ibid., p. 17.

[91] Merle Curti, et. al., An American History, p. 5, Harper Brothers, New York, 1950.

[92] John R. Swanton, "Siouan Tribes and the Ohio Valley," American Anthropologist, Number 45, 50, New York, 1923.

> All of the traditions of these tribes speak of a movement from the east to the west covering a long period of time. The principal habitat of this stock lies hidden in the mystery that still enshrouds the beginnings of the ancient American race; it seems to have been situated, however, among the Appalachian Mountains, and all their legends indicate that the people had knowledge of a large body of water in the vicinity of their early home. This water may have been the Atlantic Ocean, for, as shown on the map, remnants of the Siouan tribes survived near the mountains in the regions of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina until after the coming of the white race.

Others also agree that it must have certainly been the Siouan group who were inhabiting western Virginia and Carolina. Lederer mentions tales which the Muskogean tribes have about certain other tribes migrating out of their area and there seems to be no ignorance of the Siouan peoples.[93] Some would even have the French and Mohawk giving impetus to the migrating Dakota also.

Wissler reports that when the Indians were first encountered, they occupied two areas representing the Siouan linguistic family. One area laid along the sunny side of the Appalachian Mountains with a margin between the falls of the Potomac and Santee River in South Carolina. The next area, a larger one, covered a good deal of the country which lies westward of the Mississippi River, extending southward to the Arkansas River and northward nearly to Saskatchewan.[94]

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[93] Franz Boas, et al., Anthropology in North America, p. 14, Stechert and Company, Chicago, Illinois, 1915.

[94] Clark Wissler, The American Indian, p. 2, Peter Smith, New York, 1950.

This area was hemmed in by the Rocky Mountains like the first one was by the Atlantic Ocean. The same areas have been mentioned by Boas.[95]

Swanton definitively discusses his published (and unpublished) accounts concerning linguistic relationships of certain Siouan tribes and their implications:[96]

> The ultimate linguistic relationship of the Osage, Kansa, Omaha, and Ponka with this tribe (Arkansas tribe, later known as Quapaw) and their own traditions indicate a migration from the Ohio rather than the reverse, while the separation of the Iowa, Oto, and Missouri from the Winnebago seems to have been fresh in the minds of two of these peoples down into the last century. The occupancy of the territory of our middle west between the Great Lakes and the Ohio by Siouan tribes seems therefore to rest on grounds almost historical. With the strong indications now at hand, there seems to be reason to think that a close comparative study of Siouan dialects would enable us to reconstruct the general outlines of their ancient geographical positions with considerable accuracy. If present indications are not deceptive, when this is done we shall find that they fell into four major linguistic groups: a northeastern, consisting of the ancestors of the later Siouan tribes of Virginia, the Hidatsa, Dakota, Biloxi, and Oto; a southeastern, including most of the later Siouan peoples of the two Carolinas; a southwestern, composed of the five tribes of Dorsey's Dhegiha; and a northwestern, Dorsey's Tciwere.

Divisions of the Siouan group who came westward by waves were known as: (1) Winnebago, Iowa, Oto, and Missouri; (2) Mandan; (3) Hidatsa and Crow; (4) Dakota; and (5) Omaha, Ponka, Kansa, and Quapaw.[97]

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[95] Boas, op. cit., p. 12.

[96] John R. Swanton, "New Light on the Early History of the Siouan Peoples," Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, Vol. 13: 3, 42, February 4, 1923, Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore, Maryland.

[97] Boas, op. cit., p. 14.

When first seen (1648-1650), the Dakota were in central Minnesota.[98] They were occupying an area extending from the Mille Lacs and the neighboring parts of the Mississippi River down as far as the mouth of the Minnesota River. As time passed, however, the Chippewa secured firearms from the French and pressed the Dakota further west.

Before the Dakota arrived, however, Schell speaks of South Dakota's earliest inhabitants as having been in the area some 5,000 years ago.[99] No one knows exactly who they were except that they specialized in the building of earth mounds. They were apparently sedentary and farmed.

Another group -- yet existing -- who left some evidence of their presence prior to the Dakota were the Arikara. The date of their life in the area is listed around 1600.[100] This group seemed to indicate a high form of civilization as inferred from excavations. They too were farmers. This was a genial group who hosted the flightful Dakota. The entry of the Dakota is listed as between the years 1700 and 1750.[101] Eventually, however, the Dakota drove their hosts further north following a long war. The acquisition of the horse

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[98] E. E. Hagen and Louis C. Shaw, The Sioux on the Reservations, p. 72, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960.

[99] H. S. Schell, South Dakota, Its Beginning and Growth, p. 11, American Book Company, New York, 1942.

[100] Ibid., p. 13.

[101] Artichoker, op. cit., p. 4.

by the Dakota enabled them to be superior horsemen while hunting buffalo and also to dominate a goodly portion of the buffalo area.

Hyde declares that the Yanktons were the first wave of Dakota to enter Dakota area, followed by the Tetons.[102] Lesueur reports, however, that the Tetons passed the Yanktons around Blue Earth, pressing further west.[103] The Brules were in this branch. The Ogalala, the principal group, crossed the Missouri near Crow Creek -- with the Brule group following -- in about 1760.[104] The Brules, still traveling primarily on foot, remained near the mouth of the White River until their encounter with the whites.

The incipient competition for land, game, fruit, and so forth caused the United States government to ask for treaties with the tribes involved in hostilities. Thus in the year 1865, a series of treaties had been initiated in which the Brules took part. These first agreements were made at Fort Sully, providing for the condition that the Indians receive some annuities in return for peace. The Lower Brules were originally hovering in the area near the mouth of the White River, hence the name "Lower" Brules. Then on March 2, 1889, the government provided for a division of Indian lands west of the Missouri which affected the Lower Brules. Consequently, they

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[102] E. T. Benig, Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1930.

[103] George Hyde, Red Cloud's Folk, p. 11, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1937.

[104] Ibid.

were moved up the river to a position near the present site of Cacoma, South Dakota. After this, however, there was still another move to their present site, about 25 miles up the river.

# CHAPTER VIII

## THE KULWICASA (LOWER BRULES)

Because the Lower Brule people were a part of the principal band of Brules but resided primarily around the mouth of the White River, they were accordingly named Lower Brules. The present Lower Brule reserve is located on the west side of the Missouri River, south by southeast of Pierre, South Dakota. The nearest Indian reservation is the Crow Creek Sioux, which is just across the river from Lower Brule. The Crow Creek Sioux speak the d-dialect, while the Lower Brule speak the l-dialect.[105]

Primarily, of course, the Lower Brule people were a part of the Great Sioux Nation. By treaty, a 25 million-acre reservation was set aside on April 29, 1868 for the Tetons and Crow Creek Sioux.[106] Later,

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[105] There are four dialects, actually, in the Dakota language: Santee, Yankton, Teton, and Assiniboine. Each of these dialects has slight differences, though not sufficient to prevent Dakotas from understanding each other. To give these differences would require much space. However, an example is that in three of these dialects (Santee, Yankton, and Assiniboine), the sound of L never occurs; so Dakota becomes Lakota; nina (very) becomes lila. In the Yankton, one of the most notable changes is that hd of the Yankton in Santee becomes kd, and this in Teton becomes gl. Thus, hda (go home) in Yankton becomes kda in Santee, and gla in Teton. Peculiarities of the Assiniboines are not presented here. John P. Williamson, An English-Dakota Dictionary, p. iv, The Pioneer Press, Yankton, South Dakota, 1902.

[106] Marvin J. Sonosky, Statement, as Claims Counsel for the Lower Brule and Crow Creek Sioux Tribes before the Sub-committee on Indian Affairs, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States House of Representatives, on H. R. 5144 and H. R. 5165, p. 7, Washington, D. C., May, 1961.

as the result of an apparently invalid treaty, the 25 million-acre reservation was diminished to roughly 18 million acres as a result of the conquest of the gold-bearing Pahasapa (Black Hills).[107] The invalidity of the treaty was based on the lack of Indian signatures (no more than 10% of the number required actually signed) even though the freedom of the Dakota was limited by stringent qualifications forbidding them to leave in order to perhaps alleviate their starving condition. Congress, in spite of this weakly coerced set of signatures obtained under a state of duress, seized the Black Hills.

Then in 1889, the United States government took about 9 million acres of Indian land and carved it into separate reserves. The Lower Brules received their first 446,500 acres of land. Progressively since, the "Great White Father," as a trustee, has merely observed (or taken part) in the diminishment of Lower Brule Indian cultural land base.

In 1898, for instance, much of the reservation land was declared surplus and opened to homesteaders.[108] The tribe then relinquished nearly half of the reservation so that in 1907, the acreage had been reduced to 232,715 acres. From that time on up until the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, Lower Brule Indian land was permittedly sold to non-Indians. Consequently, interspersed between the

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[107] Ibid.

[108] Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, Proposed Program, p. 1, in Support of H. R. 6074, Lower Brule Sioux Tribal Council, Lower Brule, South Dakota, 1957.

first 446,550 acres and the current Big Bend Dam taking, the depletion of the reserved lands has also occurred through such things as allotments, sale of reservation land under public land laws and, in recent years, through supervised land sales.

Of recent major importance, the Fort Randall and Big Bend Dam projects on the Missouri River has caused condemnation of about 22,701 acres of Lower Brule Indian land. Sonosky has set up the following figures:[109]

| | Lower Brule Indian Land |
|---|---|
| 1. Original reservation | 446,500 acres |
| 2. Reservation before Ft. Randall taking | 122,000 " |
| 3. Fort Randall taking | ( 7,997 " |
| 4. Big Bend taking | (14,704 " |
| 5. Other dispositions | ( 4,269 " |
| 6. Reservation after two Dam takings: | |
| Tribal 38,000 | |
| Individual 57,030 | |
| 7. Final land amount | 95,030 " |

The Lower Brule people now live in a community that is not similar to a white community, nor is it like what a traditional Dakota community would be expected to be either. Its entire economic base, omitting the few cattle operators who utilize a good portion of the land for cattle grazing, is seemingly inactive by comparison with neighboring white towns. To enter into detailed analysis of the

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[109] Sonosky, op. cit., p. 8.

economic setting would perhaps require a paper in itself. However, by major importance, money from Old Age pensions, Aid to Dependent Children, Bureau of Indian Affairs general assistance, irregular wages, land sales, land lease income, and sale of livestock provides currency for the community. The sale of livestock (the profits primarily spent off the reservation) and State Welfare assistance (primarily spent on the reservation) seems to represent the two largest sources of income.[110]

The reservation setting has never naturally had the opportunity to develop "capitalistically" as American metropolises. It was not created in an evolutionary sense either by an economic motive or by the Indian people. As Sonosky says:[111]

> In the beginning, he was forcibly confined to the reservation by the United States. At one time, he could not leave his reservation without a pass from the Indian Agent. Deliberately isolated by the government from the rest of the country, there was no opportunity for him to work his way into the social and economic life of non-Indian communities outside the reservation.

After about a decade and a half, however, the federal government took a new approach. Congress did not force any more changes on the tribe. It then permitted them to take advantages of certain terms which it set up if they wanted to. The Wheeler Howard (Indian Reorganization) Act of 1934[112] permitted the Indian people in general

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[110] Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, op. cit., p. 3.

[111] Sonosky, loc. cit.

[112] William T. Hagen, American Indians, p. 156, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1961.

to set up tribal constitutions and by-laws and be self-governing, as far as federal laws would permit, if they chose to. Lower Brule did and were somewhat cynically evaluated by other tribes who did not chose to "trust the white man again." A total of 263 tribes voted on the Indian Reorganization Act, 192 accepting it and 71 rejecting.[113] The Dakota tribes, amongst themselves, were referring to each other as either "Old Dealers" or "New Dealers."[114] This New Deal reflected one of John Collier's basic assumptions:[115]

> Clan instinct, clan operation of assets, is inherent in him. The tribal Indian remains the self-reliant and self-supporting Indian.

The Meriam Report of 1928 had suggested exploring possibilities of corporate ownership, then Collier endorsed it as a means of preserving Indian societies.[116] However, through the social dynamics of human interaction -- and through miscegenation -- people were bound to start migrating even before this big concern of Collier's. At Lower Brule, enrollees who have migrated and lived off the reservation for a definite period of time lost their voting privilege (and other rights) in tribal politics. This group, although still members of the tribe, did not have representation on the council. For example, with

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[113] Fey, op. cit., p. 96.

[114] The Lower Brule people apparently respected Collier's innovation so much that an Indian name, commemorating the eventful act, had to be given some young lad. The writer, born one year before the passage of the act, was named Ounteca, New Deal.

[115] Hagen, loc. cit.

[116] Meriam, loc. cit.

the recent official Department of Interior count of enrollees, of 954 members, 501 live on the reservation and 453 off the reservation. However, those off-reservation members are of an older age group since their children could not (up until recently) be enrolled. The off-reservation group, owing to such events as the liquidation of the Tribal Enterprise,[117] Fort Randall Dam Settlement, Big Bend Dam Settlement, Border Claim, Black Hills Claim, and interest in general tribal matters, desired more representation as enrolled members. They felt that if the on-reservation group was using their names in justifying help needed, planning, and other statistical groundwork required for accompaniment of congressional legislation, they should at least vote and/or have representation. They felt that they should have this prerogative if they were still on the rolls and still considered as Indians by other people. Consequently, they are now allowed to vote and have representation on the council as the result of a referendum to amend the constitution to the same effect. This election result was approved by the Secretary of Interior on June 14, 1960. The writer is the first such elected representative to serve on the council.

Concomitant with the absence of either a true tradition oriented Dakota community or a true American-like community implied

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[117] Evolving from the Indian Reorganization Act program, the tribe borrowed a sufficient sum of money from its Revolving Credit Fund to set up a Cattle Enterprise. Ranches were established on the reservation in such districts as Lower Brule, Little Bend, Fort Hale, Cedar Creek, and Fort George. The tribe employed a white Ranch Manager to over-see the activities of the resident employees and the total set-up. Upon voting to do so (by the people), the corporation was dissolved, the loan paid up, and the profits paid out in per capita payments.

in Sonosky's preceding quote, factual data shows that 48% or more of the Lower Brule people have an annual mean income of less than $1,000. The annual mean income of at least 28% of the families is less than $500. As a result, the annual mean per capita income of the Lower Brules in the past year was $319.[118]

The land, for the most part, is used for grazing, haying, and subsistence farming. Although the soil is suitable for more intensive agriculture in bottom lands, the settlement of white farmers in the surrounding area has introduced no massive farming practices in Indian agriculture. The mean annual rainfall is 17 inches,[119] the growing season lasting about 150 days. The temperature has been known to range from a minus 40 degrees to a plus 119 degrees fahrenheit.[120]

The language predominantly spoken on the reservation is English. Dakota is still used by the graded[121] full blood Indians. Few of the older people require interpretors. A goodly portion of the people, even though they do not fluently use the language, still understand Dakota.

There is no high school on the reserve; only a grade school. The grade school can hold about 125-150 pupils. There is a combined

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[118] Sonosky, op. cit., p. 16.

[119] Douglas Chittick, Growth and Decline of South Dakota Trade Centers, Bulletin 448, p. 8, Agricultural Experiment Station, Rural Sociology Department, South Dakota State College, 1955.

[120] Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, loc. cit.

[121] This is the writer's term of relativeness, meaning "more Indian blood than most."

Trading Post and Post Office, a Tribal Office (where the Bureau of Indian Affairs had their agency prior to moving to Pierre), a jail, two churches (Episcopal and Roman Catholic), and about 14 tribally-owned wooden frame houses. These are rented out to the people. The Tribal Council, operating under a law and order code, provides tribal judges, policemen, a janitor-chauffeur, a tribal clerk, a secretary-treasurer, an executive-secretary, and two attorneys (one claims and one general). Since the liquidation of the tribal enterprise in the mid-fifties, the tribe now has the land, the office equipment, tribal houses, tribal hall, emergency station wagon, work pick-up, and other incidentals to care for. Incorporated in the tribal hall is a plumbing set-up to allow a quasi-inigaga.[122]

The present set-up seems to have longed for existence in years past. The situation seems to indicate a justification for either more cooperation by the federal government or more "reins" by which the tribe can test, if not try, its own hand at long-range planning. For instance, very important to euphonious transculturation, the council has taken the unprecedented step toward land consolidation. As Figure 1 shows, the tribal council is aware of the land area which is virtually beyond restoration, but it set up an area of concentration (outlined in darker lines on the map) within which it is attempting to replace lost Indian land back to tribal status. Each month, the tribal council

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[122] Inigaga is the Dakota term for sweat bath. The small room has selected rocks available, a heating unit, and a source of water for pouring.

has the opportunity to, and does, purchase more land with what money it can find. Of particular concern is the land which enrollees attempt to sell. But the tribe is also keeping cognizant of white settlers in the area too. It asks to be given first chance to buy any available land within its area of consolidation attempt. The business education which the present chairman has is quite advantageous for the tribe.[123] The cultural implications involved in the purchase of more land is not so much realized by the council members as the economic potential of the land.

The land, in all respects, would permit Indian people to be Indian people if they wanted to be through providing them a terra firma upon which they can practice their patterns of life (whatever they define it to be) and even feel secure with it when and if they desired to leave. Their venture out into the world of paper would be more dignified and less threatening if they knew that they still have, and can return to, a place to be Indian. They need not be people without a refuge.

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[123]The present chairman is J. W. Thompson, a one-fourth Indian, graduating from Nettleton College in Sioux Falls, a cattleman, and a Marine veteran.

# CHAPTER IX

## PRESENTATION OF DATA AND FINDINGS

The dependent variable in this study is the migration of Indian individuals from the Lower Brule Indian reservation for a period of not less than one year. The independent variables are: (1) amount of education, (2) sex status, (3) amount of Indian blood, (4) amount of children, (5) veteran status, (6) amount of land, (7) job qualification, (8) amount of on-reservation kinship ties, (9) amount of off-reservation kinship ties, and (10) choice of spouse. The selection of these independent variables was fulfilled from the standpoint of sociological significance involving social change. That is, it is a supposition that a possession of all, or a certain degree of, the instrumental characteristics of some, or all of, the independent variables is associated with the migration of Lower Brule migrants. By the same token then, a different type of possession of all, or a certain degree of, the instrumental characteristics of some, or all of, the independent variables will also be significantly distinguishable for the non-migrants. Consequently, a possession of all, or a certain degree of, these instrumental characteristics of some, or all of, the independent variables will be acceptedly associated with the migration of Lower Brule Indian individuals.

When these Indian individuals migrate then, human interaction with individuals from a different social system is virtually impossible

to avoid. And since it is an accepted corollary that true social change cannot succeed without social interaction, social change is then said to be in action. This then, is the premise under which the following data and findings are ascribed. The writer chose the conceptual scheme of Homans because of the desire to avoid the use of sometimes vague, sociological generalities.

## Limitations

The first obvious limitation was the size of both the migrant and non-migrant sample. Neither one represented 100%; 73% of the migrant and 88% of the non-migrant sample was obtained.

A second limitation may be that some of the less-educated migrants were unable to comprehend all of the items in the questionnaire, particularly since no interviewer was present. However, in this study, it was hoped that time being on the side of the respondent would promote accurate and unhurried answers. Actually, since the education mean of the migrant group was 9.67, this difficulty seems negligible.

A third limitation would have been that of accurately obtaining the respondent's reaction to questions involving intensity of feelings. This, hopefully, was avoided by constructing a short, concise questionnaire which did not involve controversial or opinionated questions. During one of the periods of pre-testing, it was discovered that the feat of obtaining replies concerning attitudinal, open-ended questions by mail became a dividing line between receiving back the questionnaire

and no response. There were, of course, a few people who simply relished the opportunity to say something regarding the conditions of the tribe, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and themselves. A good many of the people sent back their replies incomplete, filling out only the answers to the questions requiring them to recall facts. Consequently, any reliance on questions requiring lengthy answers, controversial answers, or more than one page in length was avoided.[124] In the pre-testing, considerable experimenting with schedules on and off the reservation was done according to the principles of Parten.[125]

A fourth limitation concerns the inability to make on-the-spot comparisons of each migrant with his universe. This would have been ideal. However, since it was not possible, the nearest, efficient approach seemed to be that of a "belated one," i.e., quantifying the selected characteristics of the while-leaving migrants and comparing them with those of the present migrants. The migrants did not leave en masse, but seemed to leave in a relatively steady pattern as shown on Figure 2 on page 17. The writer had to content himself with less-than ideal conditions for research owing to time and resources.

Depending upon Isaac's groundwork, the assumption that a migrant was motivated only by comparison of existing opportunities on the

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[124] Actually, more pre-testing than this was accomplished, since the writer participated in a similar migration survey with Mr. Ernest Schusky several years ago.

[125] Mildred Parten, Surveys, Polls, and Samples, p. 383-402, Harper & Brothers, Publishers, New York, 1950.

reservation with contemporary opportunities elsewhere would fall short of fully measuring social change. As Isaac says:[126]

> These investigated causes are not temporarily built, but are results of the whole pattern. Consequently, a static treatment of so essentially a dynamic process as migration cannot be viewed as a changing social system which is capable of minute dissection.

The whole reservation social system may have been nurturing this complete continuum of migration. In other words, there was a pattern of persistence which eluded the measurement of time in calender years.[127] Another way to put it would be as Spicer says:[128]

> The social organization of any people, like the culture of which it is a part, constitutes an interrelated whole. . . all peoples have such organizations. . . they represent generations of effort in the establishment of working relations.

And since the vast majority of this taoyate[129] first spent their lives on the reservation as active members of a few more or less intimate social groups, it is this remaining group against which comparisons were made. This is why only facts relative to the time during which the migrants departed were solicited.

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[126] Julius Isaac, Economics of Migration, p. 33, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Company, London, 1947.

[127] Joseph S. Roucek, Contemporary Sociology, p. 602, Philosophical Library, Inc., New York, 1958.

[128] Edward H. Spicer, Human Problems in Technological Change, p. 289, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1952.

[129] This is a Dakota term for a "band" of people.

One final, ironical limitation is that which may be termed under aegis of Heisenberg's principle of indeterminacy:[130] the phenomenon of migration, here being measured, itself defies measurement, e.g., some of the migrants are too transitory to have been "caught."

Keeping in mind the limitations outlined, the succeeding conclusions drawn from these data have been qualified.

## Examination of Variables

Now that the operational definitions have been presented for the dependent variable and its independent variables in Chapter III, the task of employing the statistical chi-square measurement to "test the significance of the difference between the observed frequency distribution and the frequency distribution expected under the hypothesis"[131] shall be undertaken. The probability occurrence of less than .05 will be the minimal level of acceptance. And in this regard, further criteria used by Snyder and David will be used:[132]

> As a matter of convention, biologists and statisticians refer to any statistical constant such as $X^2$ as a "significant" value when it exceeds the value corresponding to a probability of .05. A value exceeding the .01 value is labeled as "highly significant."

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[130] Reichenbach, op. cit., p. 163.

[131] Lillian Cohen, Statistical Methods for Social Scientists, p. 125, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1955.

[132] Lawrence H. Snyder and Paul R. David, The Principles of Heredity, p. 87, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, Mass., 1957.

Originally, the leading, major hypothesis was: there are significant differences existing between the non-migrant and the while-leaving migrant. However, before veritably accepting or rejecting it, each subsumed hypothesis must first be examined; and these will be taken in order of their significance.

Hypothesis number one: there are significant differences between migrants and non-migrants in their amount of education. Although the findings of most investigations suggest that the better educated are selected in cityward migration,[133] the writer was skeptical of the validity of applying these findings to the Dakota. However, as the chi-square caluclation shows in Table I, the relationship is highly significant. Of course, it must always be kept in mind that only when these selected variables ultimately complement each other are they really significant. That is, if all other variables were inoperative, to expect the variable of educational attainment by an Indian individual to be the panacea for his leaving the reservation would fall short of veritability.

Findings Migrants included in the test were not less than 17 years of age, consequently allowing the non-migrants a perhaps "biased" four year difference during which they could have surpassed the migrants in educational achievement. The migrants were allowed only enough time to have normally completed their high school before they were counted. The mean education for the migrant group was 9.67; the mean education

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[133] Thomas, op. cit., p. 111.

TABLE I. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT EDUCATION

| | Educational Status | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 65 | 49 |
| Non-migrants | 35 | 109 |

$X^2 = 32.53$ p .001 d.f. = 1

TABLE IA. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT EDUCATION

| | Educational Status | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 59.09% | 40.91% |
| Non-migrants | 24.31% | 75.69% |

H = grades 9 -
L = grades 1 thru 8

for the non-migrants was 7.36. The parameter was 8.52, subsequently permitting a dichotomy dividing the sample into two categories between grades eight and nine.

Discussion As a white man tool in a "paper world," education enables the Indian individual to become better acquainted with and to understand some of the Western cultural values as well as to inadvertently permit their own Dakota values to slowly become latent and

non-functional. While the Dakota values are slowly becoming inoperative throughout the resulting interim of cultural transition, educational attainment enables the Indian people to become intellectually qualified to interact with white people, consequently contributing to unintended social change. Regarding this type of social change, Washburne says that "human interaction which is directed toward ends other than change itself can be called sociocultural drift."[134] This process, however, is not to imply that Indian social change is non-directional, i.e., in this case approaching a change resulting in dissimilarities with white American society. It is a personal contention of the writer that the most assured manner of transmigrating the patterns of interaction, sentiments, and activities of the Indian people toward patterns of white American society is through the means of education. With adequate education, perhaps the Indian people could competently "terminate" themselves -- the federal government would not have to make this effort.

Hypothesis number two: there are significant differences between the number of departing males and females. Sex status, with particular reference to Indian females, augments them to become more active in the phenomenon of miscegenation due to the current rural-urban movement of so many other females. This fact, plus the abundant amount of males on the reservation setting, enables them to be somewhat fastidious in their courting adventures.

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[134] Washburne, op. cit., p. 21.

TABLE II. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT SEX STATUS

| | Sex Status | |
|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female |
| Migrants | 61 | 108 |
| Non-migrants | 99 | 45 |

$\chi^2 = 31.17$ P .001 d.f. = 1

TABLE IIA. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT SEX STATUS

| | Sex Status | |
|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female |
| Migrants | 36.10% | 63.90% |
| Non-migrants | 68.75% | 31.25% |

Discussion One of Ravenstein's famous "laws" of migration was to the effect that "females are more migratory than males."[135] The contention might be made in addition to Ravenstein's law by saying that ". . . and if they are not of Caucasian ancestry, this is more especially true," because it seems likely that a white man would take

[135] Thomas, op. cit., p. 55.

an Indian woman as a wife more readily than a white woman taking an Indian male as a mate.[136]

As the reader can see, the results of the chi-square test was highly significant, as Table II shows.

Hypothesis number three: there are significant differences between migrants and non-migrants in their amount of Indian blood. The intended denotation in referring to this variable as "Indian blood" is a purely biological conception of hereditary ancestry. The reason for naming it thusly is because the respondents' and the United States Department of Interior use this mode of expression.

Findings The mean of Indian blood for migrants was 4.58, while the mean for the non-migrants was 5.93. The parameter was 5.25. In dichotomizing the universe for chi-square, the division appeared between four-eighths and six-eighths Indian blood. As Table III shows, the chi-square results are highly significant.

Discussion The amount of white blood which an Indian individual possesses has a direct counterpart in the manner by which Indian people will socially regard him or her. It is oftentimes discomforting for people who are not full blood Indians (particularly less than one-half) to normally participate in traditional social events. While these mixed blood people are not prevented from attempting intimate involvement in the traditional, social gatherings, they never-the-less sense

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[136]The non-migrant group is presently 31% female.

TABLE III. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT INDIAN BLOOD

| | Indian Blood | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 101 | 68 |
| Non-migrants | 42 | 102 |

$X^2 = 29.85$ P .001 d.f. = 1

TABLE IIIA. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT INDIAN BLOOD

| | Indian Blood | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 59.76% | 40.24% |
| Non-migrants | 29.17% | 70.83% |

H = 1 thru 4/8 Indian
L = 6 thru 8/8 Indian
. . . the 5/8 category was split for each

a reserved feeling on the part of the more traditional Indians. Consequently, they often regard themselves as marginal. Added to this, and perhaps due to the fact that these subjected people have biological attributes of white people, they are also inferentially, socially expected to act out the social role of the white person. This then perhaps gives the individual two good reasons to leave and try to

interact with white people -- though they perhaps meet with a very similar situation off the reservation too.

Hypothesis number four: there are significant differences between migrants and non-migrants in their number of children. The migration of families obviously has a different demographic and economic perspective from the migration of individuals. Many writers have delved into the single study of family migration. However, the writer only wanted to know whether the number of children which a couple has was associated with their departure.

Findings Of the 39.05% of the migrant group who were married before leaving, 54.55% of them had children. And the mean age of their children was 2.3 years. The non-migrants had 76.37% of their group who were married.

In considering the cases included in the chi-square test, all 17 year old migrants were involved since it was found that a few of them had children at this age before leaving. The migrant mean of children per individual was 0.84; that of the non-migrants was 2.26. The parameter became 1.55, and not more than one child determined the quantity in the low cell and not less than two children in the high cell.

The chi-square results being highly significant permits the acceptance of the hypothesis.

Discussion The amount of children, at least in an increasing number, perhaps works against permitting a family *in toto* to migrate. It would be difficult for an Indian family to rent a home in a new town

TABLE IV. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT NUMBER OF CHILDREN

| | Number of Children | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 30 | 80 |
| Non-migrants | 85 | 49 |

$X^2 = 26.42$ p .001 d.f. = 1

*This, of course, included only those migrants who were married at the time of leaving.

TABLE IVA. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT NUMBER OF CHILDREN

| | Number of Children | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 27.27% | 72.73% |
| Non-migrants | 59.02% | 40.98% |

because landlords in general are reticent to rent to a large family -- Indian or white. Even more than this, however, the male head would need an immediate and fairly good-paying job to support his family. Consequently, a family of three or less would have a higher probability of leaving than larger ones. However, depending upon other variables, a larger family than three may very well leave.

Hypothesis number five: there are significant differences between migrants and non-migrants in the number of individuals with the status of veterans. Veteran status, it was thought, would be highly significant as regards migration. Consequently, the direction of the chi-square result for a while appeared to be mistakenly reversed. The guess was that if an individual was a veteran, certainly there would have been ample opportunity to interact with non-residents. And this "exposure" to their mode of life, it was thought, would have attracted them right back to it after they were discharged from military service. However, this appeared not to be the case, interestingly. The results, though highly significant, were found to be in the opposite direction.

Findings The hypothesis that veteran status encourages migration was rejected. Two of the migrant veterans were females. The non-migrants have more than three-times as many veterans as the migrants. This statement should be qualified, however, due to the fact that there are more males on the reservation than the migrant group has off the reservation.

Discussion Perhaps the Indian veterans who have not migrated remained in order to take advantage of the cultural value of bravery. If so, they stayed to enact the new role of recipients of respect and honor. For example: In condoning some of the odd actions by Indian veterans who have just returned from the armed services, the older people instruct the younger ones to disregard their seriousness because "when they were in the army, they had to take some medicine which still makes them mean."

TABLE V. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT VETERAN STATUS*

| | Veteran Status | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 10 | 97 |
| Non-migrants | 46 | 98 |

$X^2$ = 18.40 P .001 d.f. = 1

*This included from age seventeen on up.

TABLE VA. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT VETERAN STATUS

| | Veteran Status | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 9.35% | 90.65% |
| Non-migrants | 31.94% | 68.08% |

H = veterans
L = non-veterans

In another way, perhaps some of these veterans represent George and Louise Spindler's[137] "reaffirmative native type" of personality which they describe as one of the psychological types generated in

[137]George D. and Louise S. Spindler, "American Indian Personality Types and Their Sociocultural Roots," The Annals, Vol. 311, p. 154, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1957.

culture change. This person was usually raised an Indian, but has experienced wide and intensive contact with white culture. Outside reservation travel was usually the case, but it only serves to reinforce their attachment to the traditional Indian culture.

Hypothesis number six: there are significant differences between migrants and non-migrants in the amount of land owned on the reservation. The expectation was that if an individual did not have adequate land holdings, there would be no reason for him to remain on the reservation.

Findings The direction of the chi-square results seemed in the opposite direction of what the writer had thought. In other words, those with a high amount of land were migrating more than those with a low amount. However, this was probably due to present complex inheritance and smaller individual returns from the land rent. The hypothesis is accepted. The migrant mean of land ownership before departing was 112.41 acres. The non-migrant mean of land ownership is 65.55 acres. The parameter turned out to be 88.96 acres.

Discussion The vestiges of Senator H. L. Dawes' Allotment Act of 1887 even lingers beyond 134, when it was officially removed.[138] This is what Dawes said to the Indian Commissioners in 1895:[139]

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[138] Workshop on American Indian Affairs, Federal Indian Legislation and Policies, p. 11, University of Chicago, Department of Anthropology, Chicago, Illinois, 1956.

[139] Ibid.

TABLE VI. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT LAND STATUS

| | Land Status | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 95 | 74 |
| Non-migrants | 48 | 96 |

$X^2 = 16.79$ P .001 d.f. = 1

TABLE VIA. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT LAND STATUS

| | Land Status | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 56.21% | 43.79% |
| Non-migrants | 33.33% | 66.67% |

H = 88.96 acres and above
L = less than 88.96 acres

> . . . Congress had begun the experiment of trying for the first time in the history of the government to take money out of its own treasury to educate the Indian. They found, however, that something more than mere education was necessary. The Indian could not be civilized or Christianized by mere intellectual training. If he was to become a christian, self-supporting citizen of the United States, he must have a home. This home is the center of all the civilizing and Christianizing forces by which he can be lifted up out of his barbarianism into self-supporting Christian citizenship.

Dawes' well-intended purpose, however, was tainted with dogmatism. It appeared to him that the only way the Indian people could become self-supporting christians was to favor a totally new system of religion and intellectuality.

Perhaps land, in a certain minimal quantity which would be more than a quarter section, would have a holding effect. However, the allottments were not more than 160 acres (an attempt to disintegrate clan unity). The potential utility of the piece of land too, was limited. To become economically established, for instance, capital to utilize it was lacking, mortaging it impossible because of trust status of the land, and borrowing on it was not (and still is not) appealing to bankers and loan companies.

Previous lease money from the land rent was shared by fewer individuals than presently. Now the returns from leases are oftentimes so small (because of the complex inheritance which exists) that to utilize the returns for moving expenses, one would fall short. This hypothesis is accepted.

Hypothesis number seven: there are significant differences between migrants and non-migrants in their types of job qualification. The Edwards Classification System[140] was employed, using the first four of the total six classes as permissive criteria for the high cell. Examples of the higher qualifications for jobs were such as registered nurse, nurse's aid, clerk, secretary, teacher, cafe cook, and carpenter.

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[140] Thomas, op. cit., p. 127.

TABLE VII. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT JOB QUALIFICATION*

| | Job Qualification | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 19 | 88 |
| Non-migrants | 7 | 137 |

$X^2 = 11.26$ p .001 d.f. = 1

*The Classification System used was that of Edwards

TABLE VIIA. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT JOB QUALIFICATION

| | Job Qualification | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 20.56% | 79.44% |
| Non-migrants | 4.86% | 95.14% |

H = first 4 classes of Edward's Classification System
L = remaining two classes

Employed elsewhere, this manner of job qualification would perhaps not hold, but the cultural setting, it was felt, had to be taken into account in this respect since, for instance, there is no place to employ a cafe cook there, or are there any great demands for clerks, secretaries, and the like.

As Thomas has inferred,[141] perhaps the significance of the differential job qualification lies not so much in the extent to which migrants are selected from specific occupational groups in the communities of origin as in the extent to which the migrants become occupationally differentiated from the settled population in the communities of destination.

Findings The hypothesis is accepted in this case. About four times as many of the migrants are qualified for higher jobs. A good share of the non-migrants are quite adept at art, and some of them do occasionally employ themselves outside the reservation doing painting or related jobs. The migrants are also in the same category.

Discussion Job qualification seems to be a concomitant variable of education. This is an example of the inter-relatedness of the factors. Any person with a valued profession or trade would be subject to social interaction as he met the demand for his services off the reservation. Learning an occupation which will provide a means of livlihood is only meaningful if it allows an Indian a "must" ticket for adjusting to non-reservation modes of life. To utilize a trade or profession, an Indian must nearly always interact with non-Indians consequently becoming aware of -- or even involved with -- their sentiments.

Hypothesis number eight: there are significant differences between migrant and non-migrant amount of on-reservation kinship ties. Considered under this hypothesis were the relatives of "blood"

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[141] Ibid., p. 126.

TABLE VIII. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT TOTAL ON-RESERVATION KINSHIP TIES

| | Number of People Claiming Relatives | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 73 | 96 |
| Non-migrants | 89 | 55 |

$X^2 = 10.09$ P .01 d.f. = 1

TABLES VIIIA. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT TOTAL ON-RESERVATION KINSHIP TIES

| | Number of People Claiming Relatives | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 43.20% | 56.80% |
| Non-migrants | 61.80% | 32.20% |

H = six or more
L = four or less

. . . the category of five was split for each.

importance, and, in this case, the family members who are adopted. It was found that upon double checking, both the migrants and non-migrants seemed naturally to ultimately claim only their blood or adopted relatives -- although the concept of the extended family kinship group

(tiyospaye) of which Malan speaks is functional.[142]

Findings For the on-reservation kinship ties, the migrants had a mean of 4.40; the non-migrants had a mean of 6.13; and the parameter was 5.15. Consequently, the high cell scores were for those who had six or more relatives on the reservation and the low cell scores were for those who had four or less relatives on the reservation. For the migrants, of course, this means that they had these relatives while they were leaving, not now. Those who had five relatives, both for the migrants and the non-migrants, were split, allowing an equal share for each cell to enhance a more unbiased dichotomy.

Discussion The absence of on-reservation kinship ties is apparently important for the potential migrant. The kinship group no doubt served important social homage and economic assistance facets of the potential migrant's life. Particularly important seems to be the Fathers and Uncles -- this phenomenon within the context of Dakota patriarchy.

As a gesture to seek out indications of specifically important relatives concerning migration, the chi-square test was calculated on all the relatives listed in the schedule. Because the majority of relatives were not of too much importance in migration (when run in a total test as in Table IX), the influence of the fathers and uncles was not immediately revealed.

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[142] Vernon D. Malan, The Dakota Indian Family, Bulletin 470, p. 21, Agricultural Experiment Station, Rural Sociology Department, South Dakota State College, 1958.

TABLE IX. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT, TOTAL KINSHIP TIES

| | Number of Relatives | |
|---|---|---|
| | Off | On |
| Migrants | 409(35.47%) | 744(65.53%) |
| Non-migrants | 470(34.76%) | 882(65.24%) |

$X^2 = 0.19$ P .70 d.f. = 1

TABLE X. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT UNCLE TIES

| | Number of Uncles | |
|---|---|---|
| | Off | On |
| Migrants | 51(36.96%) | 87(63.04%) |
| Non-migrants | 24(25.26%) | 71(74.74%) |

$X^2 = 3.98$ P .05 d.f. = 1

TABLE XI. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT FATHER TIES

| | Number of Fathers | |
|---|---|---|
| | Off | On |
| Migrants | 13(18.57%) | 57(81.43%) |
| Non-migrants | 4(7.27%) | 51(92.73%) |

$X^2 = 4.41$ P .05 d.f. = 1

Hypothesis number nine: there are significant differences between migrants and non-migrants in their amount of off-reservation kinship ties. The expectation was that the amount of off-reservation kinship ties would serve as an important attraction for the migration of individuals.

Findings The findings of the chi-square test for this variable seem to indicate that the hypothesis is acceptable. The relatives who had already left seem to have a significant effect in encouraging the migration of the remaining ones. However, those who remained on the reservation were apparently in a better position to influence the decision of the potential migrant. It seems that the fathers and uncles, both on or off the reservation, exert the greatest influence as regards single relatives.

For the off-reservation kinship ties, the non-migrants had a mean of 3.26; the migrants had a mean of 2.42. The parameter was 2.66, consequently permitting the high cell scores to be those who had three or

TABLE XII. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT TOTAL OFF-RESERVATION KINSHIP TIES

| | Number of People Claiming Relatives | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 80 | 89 |
| Non-migrants | 86 | 58 |

$X^2 = 5.17$ P .05 d.f. = 1

TABLE XIIA. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT, TOTAL OFF-RESERVATION KINSHIP TIES

| | Number of People Claiming Relatives | |
|---|---|---|
| | High | Low |
| Migrants | 47.33% | 52.67% |
| Non-migrants | 59.72% | 40.28% |

H = three or more
L = two or less

more relatives off the reservation and the low cell scores to be those who had two or less relatives off the reservation. This hypothesis is acceptable.

Discussion While the kin still do respect and practice the extended kinship pattern on the reservation, they become less inclined to permit it to function when they are not on the reservation. This is

particularly true when they are not on the reservation and among people who do not regard this practice as a means toward financial success. The analogy of the migrant expecting to obtain aid from his kin when he leaves resembles two people helping each other to swim in deep water when neither of them knows how. In spite of this, it does appear to be that it is concomitantly the lack of relatives on the reservation and the example of migrant relatives which associates itself with the migrant's departure.

Hypothesis number ten: there are significant differences between migrants and non-migrants in their choice of spouses. This last variable is considered extremely important because of the social and biological implications. There are few instances, if any, in which an Indian individual marrying a non-Indian ever remains on the reservation. Included in the samples for the chi-square test were the mates of the migrants and non-migrants who were either residents or non-residents of the Lower Brule reservation. They were not dichotomized on the basis of race, as was later done to reveal the distinction.

Findings Of the 39.05% of the migrants who were married before leaving, 83.33% (or 55) of them had married white mates. The non-migrants had 13.75% (or 11) of their membership married to white mates. If only the non-Indian mates of the migrants and non-migrants were included in the test of significance, the probability of $X^2$ would exceed the .001 level. The chi-square test in this manner gives a highly significant result: 29.32. When dichotomizing the sample for those spouses who are merely residents or non-residents (regardless

TABLE XIII. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT CHOICE OF SPOUSES

| | Choice of Spouses | |
|---|---|---|
| | Off | On |
| Migrants | 49 | 17 |
| Non-migrants | 43 | 37 |

$X^2 = 5.82$ P .02 d.f. = 1

TABLE XIIIA. THE RELATION OF MIGRANT TO NON-MIGRANT CHOICE OF SPOUSE

| | Choice of Spouses | |
|---|---|---|
| | Off | On |
| Migrants | 74.24% | 25.76% |
| Non-migrants | 53.75% | 46.25% |

of Indian blood), the salience of marriage to white spouses is concealed.

Discussion Concomitant with the "law" of Ravenstein[143] is the choice of spouses made by the non-migrants. Preponderantly, the mobility of the reservation female sex almost impels the male Brulian

[143] Thomas, op. cit., p. 55.

to seek a mate elsewhere -- whether it be on another reservation or not. If the selection of a mate -- either for an Indian male or female -- is a white person, it is very likely that the reservation social system (much more the economic system) would not contend the toka (alien). The Western social values of competitiveness would be out of cadence with reservation life. Consequently, for those non-Indians who marry Indians and expect suitable self-supporting arrangements on the reservation similar to those off the reservation, there are unsuspecting adjustments to be made. The couple either establishes a maintaining, economic predicament, or depart in search of one.

The non-migrants who are married to non-resident Indians do not seem to find it difficult to tolerate such a situation as described above. This, however, is not to say that marriage to non-residents -- if they be Indian -- is not associated with migration. The Indian non-migrants who are presently married to whites have a satisfactory economic set-up.

There is a valuable function being served through this process or racial inter-marriage. In this case, Indian marriages to white mates is a means to the "natural ladder of acculturation," as Vogt said,[144] because transitory reference groups are products of miscegenation.

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[144] Evon Z. Vogt, "The Acculturation of American Indians," The Annals, Vol. 311, p. 137, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1957.

## Review of Chi-square

It is perhaps not necessary to proceed any further in statistical computations to determine the acceptance of the major hypothesis. Seeing that (1) the chi-square test showed significant differences between migrant and non-migrant characteristics relative to each variable and (2) that only one hypothesis was rejected, the major postulation is accepted.

TABLE XIV. REVIEW OF CHI-SQUARE FROM THE TEN SUB-HYPOTHESES

| Variable | $X^2$ | P | d.f. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amount of Education | 32.53 | .001 | 1 |
| Sex Status | 31.17 | .001 | 1 |
| Amount of Indian Blood | 29.85 | .001 | 1 |
| Choice of Spouse | 5.82 | .02 | 1 |
| (with non-Indians | 29.32 | .001 | 1) |
| Number of Children | 26.42 | .001 | 1 |
| Veteran Status* | 18.40 | .001 | 1 |
| Amount of Land | 16.79 | .001 | 1 |
| Job Qualification | 11.26 | .001 | 1 |
| On-reservation Kinship Ties | 10.09 | .01 | 1 |
| Off-reservation Kinship Ties | 5.17 | .05 | 1 |

*The hypothesis relative to this variable was rejected.

# CHAPTER X

# SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND IMPLICATIONS

## Summary

It was found that migration studies within the United States were primarily concerned with examining the effects of internal movements during such periods as the depression, war, and industrial development. The writer, however, sought to investigate factors which were neutrally related to migration of Indian individuals from the Lower Brule reservation. Particular attention was not given to periods of war or depression. This effort was also considered inseparable from the sociological concept of social change. The phenomenon of migration was considered almost inherently involved with social interaction. Consequently, the conceptual scheme of George C. Homans was employed, particularly the element of interaction, in a working hypothesis that the selected variables of study were significantly associated with migration of Lower Brule Indian people.

The peopling of the North American continent was associated with the Pleistocene period (first entrance date around 15,000 to 20,000 B.C.), during which a dry-shod route existed for men and animals across the Bering Strait. These early men were in pursuit of food animals. These eastern Asian people infiltrated and geographically occupied the North American continent as wave after wave of migrants

came. In 1492 when they were first contacted, these Paleo-Indians had been economically established in several major, defined areas.

The Dakota were found to have migrated westward from present areas known as Virginia, South Carolina, and North Carolina. After existing in the Ohio Valley for a while, a good share of the Siouan family began migrating by waves to the west. The Dakota were of the fourth wave. Their entry into Dakota territory was around 1700.

In about 1760, the Teton Dakota branch crossed the Missouri near Crow Creek on their way west again. The Brule band, however, remained near the area of White River. And the group of Brules who remained principally around the mouth of White River were accordingly called "Lower" Brules.

The Lower Brules, a part of the Great Sioux Nation, participated in the Treaty of 1868. This agreement set aside all the land in South Dakota which lay west of the east bank of the Missouri River (about 25 million acres). However, the federal government later reduced the size of this massive reservation to about 18 million acres following an invalid treaty in 1876. From this remaining 18 million acres of Indian land, the federal government again reduced its size by about 9 million acres, dividing up the rest of the 9 million acres into reservation for all the Teton, as shown in Figure 3. This is when the Lower Brules received their first 446,500 acres of reservation land in 1889. This, however, was not the end of land depletion for the Lower Brules. Their original reservation was subjected to a federal declaration of land surplus, consequently opening up roughly 213,500

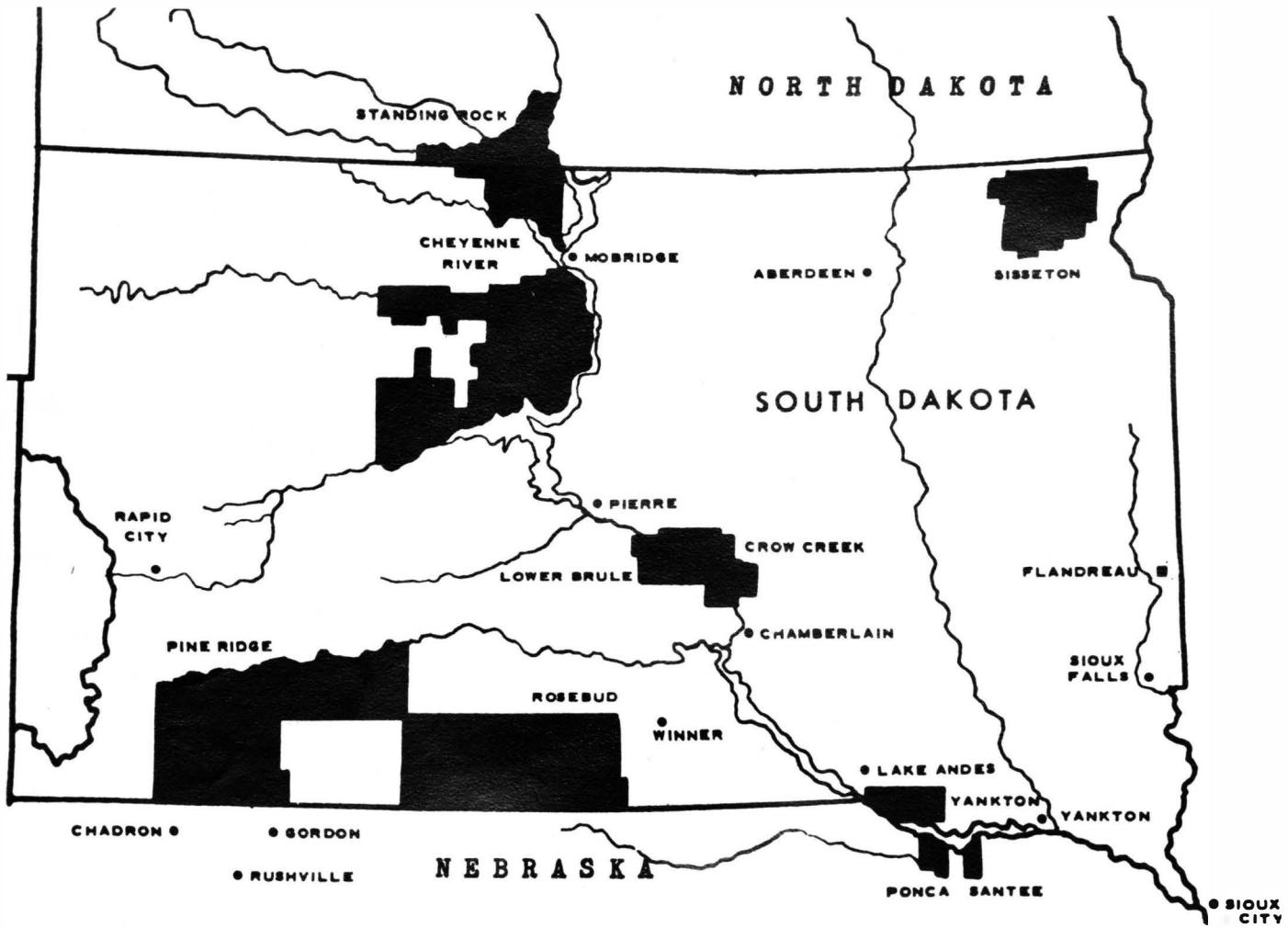


**Figure 3. Dakota Indian Reservations in North Dakota, South Dakota, and Nebraska**

acres for homesteading. This left about 233,500 acres of reservation land for the Lower Brules. Since then, the Lower Brule tribe has also lost land through such things as (1) unwarranted land sales, (2) Fort Randall Dam taking, and (3) Big Bend Dam taking.

The Lower Brule tribe is presently attempting to re-consolidate more Indian land as a means for the promotion of an economic and, more importantly, cultural land base.

## Conclusion

Migration has been in progress since about two years after (1900) the establishment of the first Lower Brule reservation, and it appears to be continuing. Ten variables were selected for study. The contention was that these variables were significantly associated with migration, consequently taking a leading part in social change through the enhancement of social interaction with off-reservation people. As the result of examining the variables through the test of significance ($X^2$), hypotheses were accepted relative to (1) amount of Indian blood, (2) amount of education, (3) sex status, (4) number of children, (5) job qualification, (6) amount of land, (7) amount of on-reservation kinship ties, (8) amount of off-reservation kinship ties, and (9) choice of spouse.

One hypothesis, regarding veteran status, was significant beyond the .05 level but rejected. In spite of one hypothesis being in an opposite direction regarding its association with migration, the

major hypothesis is accepted. There are significant differences between non-migrants and while-leaving migrants.

## Implications

Food-gathering, hunting, fishing, herding, agriculture, trade, and industry are the principal economic activities of mankind.[145] And in the process of satisfying his material needs, man has gradually developed a body of practices connected with them. In time, these practices became standardized and firmly established as clusters of patterns of interaction, sentiments, and activities. These patterns were later formalized to be known as "economic institutions." These economic institutions were always inter-related parts of mankind's social integration.

Perhaps the ultimate motives which most Indian migrants have are also economic, just as the early Indian no doubt possessed when he crossed over the Bering Strait in pursuit of food-bearing animals. During this early period of the migration continuum, the social and economic components of Indian life must have also been concordant. Whether they were or not, they are now.[146] Substantially then, each one of the selected variables of study can perhaps be veritably associated with a means to "survival" -- hence a socio-economic relevancy. As an example, Durkheim, in his quest for an understanding

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[145] Samuel Koenig, Man and Society, p. 74, Barnes & Noble, Inc., New York, 1957.

[146] Meriam, op. cit., p. 736.

of social institutions, was led to delve deeply into the economic aspects.[147] He approached the study of social institutions through analyzing economic activities; and these economic "activities" he considered as fundamental to understanding social life.

It is not the intention to attempt a similar approach here, but because of such an "economic activity," e.g., an underlying economic motive to survive, the Dakota have been migrating ever since one can trace their history. Particularly regarding the Lower Brule Dakota, significantly associated with migration are the ten selected variables mentioned in the conclusion. And no doubt, there would be some credence to the assertion that a close comparative study of other Dakota reservations (and even other non-related Indian reservations) would yield equivalent results. Therefore, it may be well for the federal, state, local, and tribal governments to study these and similar variables in order to become aware of the possible social difficulties which could hereafter confront them as benevolent agencies and the migrating Indian people as well. As a matter of fact, for other states that have similar Indian populations, it would be equally important for them to take note of its aborigines, for as Hadley says:[148]

> Now the Indian net natural increase is higher than for the total population of the country. The Indian population has a much higher proportion of persons under 25 years of age, which, with other factors, suggests that by 1975, there will be over 700,000 Indians in our country.

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[147] Koenig, op. cit., p. 76.

[148] J. Nixon Hadley, "The Demography of the American Indians," The Annals, Vol. 311, p. 23, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1957.

The potential implications evolving from the revealed significant differences between Lower Brule Indian non-migrants and migrants are far-reaching. For example, the states of Arizona, New Mexico, and South Dakota with the federal government could perhaps benefit by jointly becoming involved in a similar but more intensive study of Indian migration. They could initially concentrate on one leading area of study, that of the direction of migration. Other states and the federal government could do the same. For instance, the Relocation and the Welfare Services of the United States Department of the Interior with the respective State Departments of Public Welfare could arrange for agreements relative to the anticipated migrations. This approach would be preferrable over present attempts by each agency to disclaim the Indian migrant. It is during the initial stage of settlement in a new community that a migrant is wanting of help. Surely this type of governmental approach could be more desirable than a seemingly over-all laissez faire attitude.

If the states could anticipate this trickling movement by Indian people, they would perform an altruistic service to its own white people as well as the Indian people. But this service, however, would be contingent upon the adequacy of assisting the migrant to become fashionably settled. The federal government, on the other hand, would only be living up to its early treaty agreements. The Great White Father should not parsimoniously interpret the treaty agreements, but should altruistically pursue a satisfactory adjustment of the Indian migrants to off-reservation life after they leave, not just while they are within the geographic boundaries of the reservation. It is interesting to note what Chief Justice John Marshall has said relative to the nature of treaty obligations

between the United States and Indian tribes:[149]

> . . . a treaty is a compact between two nations or communities, having the right of self-government. Is it essential that each party shall possess the same attributes of sovereignty to give force to the treaty? This will not be pretended, for on this ground, very few valid treaties could be formed. The only requisite is, that each of the contracting parties shall possess the right of self-government, and the power to perform the stipulation of the treaty.
>
> We have made treaties with (the Indians); and are those treaties to be disregarded on our part, because they were entered into with an uncivilized people? Does this lessen the obligation of such treaties? By entering into them, have we not admitted the power of this people to bind themselves, and to impose obligations on us?

The really important consequence of federal and state administrations becoming philanthropically concerned with the movement of its Indian people is in the area of racial discrimination. Most of the Indian migrants' social and economic difficulties off the reservation invariably have an entanglement with the barrier of discrimination as they attempt to alleviate their misfortunes. Consequently, if either of these governments remains openly unconcerned with the important probable causes and effects of Indian migration (as presently is the case), more than likely and inherently developed will be a "self-inflicted" attitude of disgust with and the abasement of the Indian people. But this is not all; to knowingly permit the development of misleading and erroneous white attitudes toward the Indian people is no less than being an accessory _de jure_. The people of these two governments will also not be able to realize and understand the perplexing and compound problems which the

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[149] American Indian Chicago Conference, _Declaration of Indian Purpose_, p. 16, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1961.

Indian migrants face upon adjusting to a new social environment. It is depressing for indigent Indian people to learn the philosophy of the paper world of the West. It is therefore requisite that the same kind of people, who also run these governments of the state and nation, to willfully assist the Indian people during their cultural transition.

An Indian will likely leave his reservation to simulate the majority of Americans if he has one or more of the selected variables of study in their instrumental condition. However, it must be pointed out that to have only one or more of these instrumental variables of migration is only a "step" toward becoming assimilated into the general white American populace. This important movement by Indian migrants can therefore lull these two governments into deception. They may conclude that the Indian is migrating because he is ready for off-reservation life, therefore if he considers himself ready, why shouldn't we? But this is what social research by both administrations could discover, i.e., does Indian migration imply acculturation?

As a final, brief consideration of impending social implications, the following compendium is offered. Migration is enhancing social change for the Indian people. This change of Indian social structure is undeniably aimed toward being more like the way of the general white American. Therefore, it would appear to be a plausible approach for the governments (state and federal) that represent the "general white American way of life" to willfully assist the Indian migrant in becoming a respectful citizen of these United States, and not one who unnecessarily is subtely disregarded because of the development of misleading white attitudes.

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# APPENDIX A

Dear Tribal Member:

You are perhaps aware that I have already asked you to fill out a questionnaire like this before, but since the returns were not enough, I am again seeking more. This study must be completed. So this time, the Rural Sociology Department of South Dakota State College, Brookings, South Dakota is assisting me.

Perhaps one of the reasons for the forms not being returned was because of the work involved in writing. And perhaps for others, the form was simply too long. Whatever the reason was (no doubt due to my fault), I am trying again to complete the survey. As you can see, the form is a whole lot shorter.

I have worked very hard on the forms which I have already received back from last time. The results of these forms are so valuable that I feel the others who have not replied surely must have equally-valuable information to offer. And I want this information. Thus far, I have also gathered much background material for the write-up. And I must say, the Lower Brules have a very uniquely-interesting history. As far back as I can trace, we Lower Brule Sioux have been migrating. We are still doing so too, and I have consequently made it an object of study. This is where the information from you comes in.

Before too long, I am in hopes of completing the survey. I hope to make this data available to people concerned with the Big Bend Dam project.

I do not want your name on the form, but I do need correct data. This information will be handled statistically; and the more returns I get, the more reliable the write-up becomes.

We thank you very much for the time you spend on the questionnaire. As soon as you fill yours out, put it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope and mail it.

Sincerely yours,

Frank C. Estes
Off-reservation Tribal Council Member

Vernon D. Malan
Professor, Rural Sociology Department

P.S. Even if you have already sent in one like this, send another. We can use it.

## Factors Relating To Migration

1. Did you leave by the help of the Relocation Program: ___Yes, ___No.

2. What kind of a job did you do when you first left: _____

3. To what town did you go when you first left: _____

4. Did you leave with your parents or by yourself: ___by self, ___parents.

5. In what year did you permanently leave: _____

6. Your amount of Indian blood: ___1/8, ___2/8, ___3/8, ___4/8, ___5/8, ___6/8, ___7/8, ___8/8, ___None.

7. About how many acres of land did you own before leaving: (Yourself) ___ (Share) ___

8. Were you a veteran before you left: ___Yes, ___No.

9. Your (husband or wife's) amount of Indian blood: ___1/8, ___2/8, ___3/8, ___4/8, ___5/8, ___6/8, ___7/8, ___8/8, ___None.

10. Where is your (wife or husband) from: _____

11. How much education did you have before you left: Grade School ___1, ___2, ___3, ___4, ___5, ___6, ___7, ___8, High School ___9, ___10, ___11, ___12, College ___1 yr, ___2 yr, ___3 yr, ___4 yr, ___More.

12. Check the relatives who lived on the reservation when you left:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ___Father | ___Uncle | ___Grandfather |
| ___Mother | ___Aunt | ___Grandmother |
| ___Sister | ___Niece | ___Female cousin |
| ___Brother | ___Nephew | ___Male cousin |

13. How old were you when you left: ___Age

14. Check the relatives who lived off the reservation when you left:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ___Father | ___Uncle | ___Grandfather |
| ___Mother | ___Aunt | ___Grandmother |
| ___Sister | ___Niece | ___Female cousin |
| ___Brother | ___Nephew | ___Male cousin |

15. List the ages of your children: (Boys) _____
their names are not necessary (Girls) _____

# APPENDIX B

Dear Tribal Members:

For the few of you who did not return the questionnaire we sent you, we are again sending another one. But this time, it has again been re-worked. I thought that if the first form was confusing you, it was my fault again.

For those who did return their questionnaires, I very sincerely send you my sincere thanks. You are making our efforts much easier in this study. And since this letter goes out to those who have already sent in their questionnaires, I include the following "headline" material concerning tribal affairs.

Gratefully yours,

Frank C. Estes
Council Representative
918 2nd Avenue
Brookings, S. Dak.

Approved:

Vernon D. Malan
Associate Professor
Rural Sociology Department

Encl.

## Factors Relating to Migration

1. Did you leave by the help of the Relocation Program? ___Yes ___No
2. When you first left, what kind of a job did you do? _____
3. When you first left, to what town did you go? _____
4. Did you leave with your parents? ___Yes ___No
5. In what year did you leave for good? _____
6. Your amount of Indian blood? _____
7. Before you left, how much land did you own? _____
8. Were you a veteran before you left? ___Yes ___No
9. How much Indian blood does your (wife or husband) have? _____
10. Where is your (wife or husband) from? _____
11. Before you left, how much education did you have? _____
12. When you first left, check the relatives who were still (on) the reservation:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ___Father | ___Uncle | ___Grandfather |
| ___Mother | ___Aunt | ___Grandmother |
| ___Sister | ___Niece | ___Female cousin |
| ___Brother | ___Nephew | ___Male cousin |

13. When you left, how old were you? _____
14. After you first left, check the relatives who were already (off) the reservation:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ___Father | ___Uncle | ___Grandfather |
| ___Mother | ___Aunt | ___Grandmother |
| ___Sister | ___Niece | ___Female cousin |
| ___Brother | ___Nephew | ___Male cousin |

15. List the ages of your children under 21:

(Boys) ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

(Girls) ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

# APPENDIX C

Data on Non-migrants
(over 21 yrs. of age)

Name_____

1. Age_____

2. Amount of Indian blood_____

3. Amount of Education_____

4. Veteran Status: Yes_____
No_____

5. Amount of Land owned_____

6. Relatives now living ON the reservation:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Father_____ | Uncle_____ | Grandfather_____ |
| Mother_____ | Aunt_____ | Grandmother_____ |
| Sister_____ | Niece_____ | Female cousin_____ |
| Brother_____ | Nephew_____ | Male cousin_____ |

7. Age of children under 21: Boys_____
Girls_____

8. Relatives now living OFF the reservation:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Father_____ | Uncle_____ | Grandfather_____ |
| Mother_____ | Aunt_____ | Grandmother_____ |
| Sister_____ | Niece_____ | Female cousin_____ |
| Brother_____ | Nephew_____ | Male cousin_____ |

9. Where is (wife or husband) from? _____

10. Amount of (wife or husband's) Indian blood? _____

11. Employed? Yes_____
No_____

Type of work qualified for: _____

12. Ever left Lower Brule for more than one year? _____

# APPENDIX D

TABLE XV. FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION
OF MIGRANTS' DEPARTING YEAR

| Year | Number of Departures | Year | Number of Departures |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1900 | 3 | 1931 | 1 |
| 1901 | 1 | 1932 | 0 |
| 1902 | 0 | 1933 | 1 |
| 1903 | 0 | 1934 | 5 |
| 1904 | 0 | 1935 | 0 |
| 1905 | 1 | 1936 | 5 |
| 1906 | 1 | 1937 | 3 |
| 1907 | 0 | 1938 | 2 |
| 1908 | 0 | 1939 | 3 |
| 1909 | 0 | 1940 | 13 |
| 1910 | 1 | 1941 | 5 |
| 1911 | 0 | 1942 | 5 |
| 1912 | 1 | 1943 | 7 |
| 1913 | 0 | 1944 | 4 |
| 1914 | 2 | 1945 | 5 |
| 1915 | 0 | 1946 | 3 |
| 1916 | 1 | 1947 | 4 |
| 1917 | 3 | 1948 | 8 |
| 1918 | 3 | 1949 | 3 |
| 1919 | 0 | 1950 | 5 |
| 1920 | 1 | 1951 | 4 |
| 1921 | 1 | 1952 | 3 |
| 1922 | 1 | 1953 | 5 |
| 1923 | 2 | 1954 | 3 |
| 1924 | 3 | 1955 | 3 |
| 1925 | 3 | 1956 | 6 |
| 1926 | 3 | 1957 | 7 |
| 1927 | 9 | 1958 | 2 |
| 1928 | 2 | 1959 | 4 |
| 1929 | 2 | 1960 | 5 |
| 1930 | 1 | | |

Mean = 2.81

TABLE XVI. FIRST TOWN OR RESERVATION TO WHICH MIGRANT DEPARTED

| Area | Number of People | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| In-state | 117 | 69.24 |
| (Pierre & Fort Pierre | 37 | 31.62) |
| (Crow Creek Reservation | 12 | 10.26) |
| (Rapid City | 9 | 7.69) |
| (Cheyenne Reservation | 7 | 5.98) |
| (Pine Ridge Reservation | 7 | 5.98) |
| (Rosebud Reservation | 6 | 5.13) |
| (Reliance | 4 | 3.41) |
| (Santee Reservation | 3 | 2.56) |
| (Standing Rock Reservation | 2 | 1.71) |
| (Chamberlain | 2 | 1.71) |
| (Kennebec | 2 | 1.71) |
| (Sisseton Reservation | 1 | 0.85) |
| (Other towns** | 25 | 21.36) |
| Out-of-state*** | 52 | 30.76 |

** See Table XVII.
*** See Table XVIII.

TABLE XVII. SUPPLEMENTAL LIST OF THE "OTHER TOWNS" IN SOUTH DAKOTA TO WHICH MIGRANT DEPARTED

| Other Town, S. Dak. | Other Town, S. Dak. |
|---|---|
| Belvidere | Mitchell |
| Custer | Mobridge |
| Gettysburg | Murdo |
| Highmore | Oacoma |
| Huron | Redfield |
| Hot Springs | Sioux Falls |
| Igloo | Springfield |
| Holabird | Viborg |
| Lake Andes | Wagner |
| Miller | |

TABLE XVIII. SUPPLEMENTAL LIST OF THE "OUT-OF-STATE" TOWNS TO WHICH MIGRANT DEPARTED

| Out-of-state Town, U.S.A. | Out-of-state Town, U.S.A. |
|---|---|
| Kansas City, Mo. | Corona, Calif. |
| Omaha, Nebr. | Sante Fe, N. Mex. |
| Denver, Colo. | Livingston, Mont. |
| Farragut, Iowa | Neleigh, Nebr. |
| Fargo, N. Dak. | San Jose, Calif. |
| McCloud, Okla. | Pearsonia, Okla. |
| Minneapolis, Minn. | Minocqua, Wis. |
| Gallup, N. Mex. | Arlee, Mont. |
| Lincoln Park, Mich. | Ponsford, Minn. |
| Tina, Mo. | Jasper, Tenn. |
| Chicago, Ill. | Tacoma, Wash. |
| Sioux City, Iowa | Cleveland, Ohio |
| Hastings, Nebr. | Brockton, Mont. |
| Blooming Prairie, Minn. | Ogden, Utah |
| Pawhuska, Okla. | Tomok, Wis. |
| Busby, Mont. | |

TABLE XIX. PRESENT RESIDENCE OF MIGRANT SPOUSES

| Location | Number | Percent* |
|---|---|---|
| Non-resident of Lower Brule | 64 | 45.71 |
| Out-of-state | 42 | 30.00 |
| In-state | 16 | 11.43 |
| Resident of Lower Brule | 18 | 12.86 |
| (Not married proportion) | 29 | |
| Total -- | 169 | |

* These percentages are only of those who are married.